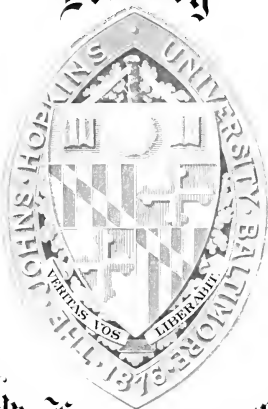


THE J. J. PHILLIPS LIBRARY  
3 1151 02563 5248

MORAVIA  
SPEC. COLL.

57372

Library



Johns Hopkins University  
at the







JAN 17 1963  
R. 1000  
R. 1000  
C. 1  
C. 2

SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT.

A STUDY.

RICHARD F. BURTON.





Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt.

A STUDY.

In the year 1882, Mr. Bullen, the English scholar, published for private distribution (1) the first of four volumes bearing the title: A Collection Of Old English Plays, the succeeding volumes appearing, respectively, in the years 1883, 1884, and 1885. As stated in the preface, most of the plays contained in the collection had never been reprinted, and some had not been printed at all, they having lain in MS. up to the present time. In the second volume is to be found the tragedy of Barnavelt: as its name implies, this play has for its subject-matter the downfall and death of John Van Olden Barnavelt, the famous Dutch Advocate, who was one of the most conspicuous of the great figures in European politics in the time of the Stuarts. It is the object of the present dissertation to subject this drama to a detailed examination, in order thereby to ascertain, if possible, its authorship, its place both in time and importance in English dramatic production, and its value as a work of literary art and genius.

(1) A Collection Of Old English Plays, In Four Volumes, Edited by A. H. Bullen. Privately Printed by Wyman & Sons, London, 1882-1885.



Among the <sup>first</sup> ~~best~~ questions naturally arising after a perusal of the play of Barnavelt, an enjoyment of its qualities, and an observation of its place in the general category of dramatic production, are the following:

What is the date of the play?

Who are its authors?

The answer to the first of these two questions is not far to seek. The investigations of Mr. Ellis show conclusively<sup>(1)</sup> that the play was presented between August 16 and August 19, 1619. As Barnavelt was executed in May 13, 1619, it will be seen that it was thus contemporaneous in the strictest sense. With regard to the authorship, there is much more ground for discussion: but tentative work has been done, chiefly by two Scholars; namely, by Mr. Bullin himself and by Mr. Robert Boyle, the well-known Shakespearean and Elizabethan critic. The latter's investigations on the subject have been far more thorough and systematic than those of any other Student, being pursued in connection with a general attempt to clear up the authorship of those plays hitherto loosely ascribed by past editors to Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger. The noble work done by Boyle, Bullen and Fleay in dispelling the mists hanging about

(1) Vol. IV. Appendix.



many of the later<sup>1</sup> or Elizabethan Jacobean productions can not be overlooked. Compare for a moment such an edition as Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, scholarly and excellent though it may be, with the clear divisions and sound reasoning applied to the classification of the same plays under the examination and principles of Fleay and Boyle, and the immense step in the right direction will be perceived.

It is to be regretted that the results reached by these Scholars are not more generally recognized by critics; for the confusion of method among editors to-day is still lamentable. Texts of various of the Elizabethan or post-Elizabethan playwrights are published where the editors are either ignorant, or else ignore the judgments of the men above mentioned. For an example: Mr. Boyle has shown the play of Thierry and Theodoret to belong to Fletcher and Massinger, thus upsetting the old notion that it was the production of Beaumont and Fletcher. In the recent Mermaid Series' Edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, (1) however, the editor Mr. J. S. L. Strachey gives the play to the two playwrights whose names have always been associated with it in the past, and makes no mention of the possibility of Massinger's share in its production. Again in the edition of Massinger's Selected

(1) Mermaid Series, Beaumont and Fletcher edited by J. S. L. Strachey, London 1887.



Works in the same series, the editor, Mr. Arthur Symens, ascribes the comedy A New Way To Pay Old Debts without a word to Massinger, whereas Boyle, by the same method of proof which he has put into general use, has shown the play to be the joint work of Fletcher and Massinger. These instances are enough to indicate the lack of agreement in method and aim at present holding among scholars. The words of a sound Elizabethan student, Mr. Saintsbury in a recent book, may be here quoted; referring to the Elizabethan period, he remarks: "The field of survey is vast and despite the abundant labor which has been bestowed upon it, it is still in a somewhat chaotic condition. The remarkable collection of old plays which Mr. A. H. Bullen recently completed shows, by sample only and with no pretence of being exhaustive, the amount of absolutely unknown matter which still exists. The collection and editing of texts has proceeded on the most widely different principles and with an almost complete absence of that intelligent partition of labor which can alone reduce chaos to order in such a case - - - it is impossible for any one who reads Literature as Literature, and not as a matter of idle crochet not to reflect that if either of the Societies which during the last half century, have

(1) History Of English Literature vol. 11 Elizabethan p. 51-52, London 1887.





devoted themselves to the study of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, had chosen to employ their funds on it, a complete corpus of the drama between 1560-1660, edited with sufficient but not superfluous critical apparatus, on a uniform plan and in a decent, if not a luxurious form, might now be attainable - - - - what time, expense and trouble are required to obtain, and that very imperfectly, any such advantage now, only those who have tried it know." It may be added that Mr. Saintsbury himself, in the book quoted from, when discussing Massinger attributes the play of Barnavelt to him, without mentioning that both Bullen and Boyle gave a large share of it to Fletcher.

Turning now to our play, it is to be said that both Bullen and Boyle and in part Fleay, see in Barnavelt the work of the two play-writers, Fletcher and Massinger. That such a combination is not impossible we already know, as Sir Aston Cokaine (1) tells us that they produced joint plays. Bullen gives a number of reasons for his opinion. He sees Fletcher's style in several quoted passages and single lines: they are impassioned, wave-like in effect, with a swelling iteration: other passages, contrarywise, show less exuberance of language, a staid, grave, unimpassioned way of writing; and this he thinks

(1) p. 396.

(2) And my good friend, old Philip Massinger,  
With Fletcher writ in some that we see there.

Sir Aston Cockayne to Chas. Cotton.



reveals Massinger. Again, the versification of the parts he attributes to Fletcher are in marked contrast to Massinger's hand.- He does not go so far as to apportion the play scene by scene between the two writers, but only indicates one or two concerning which he deems there can be no doubt; and the scenes thus pronounced upon by him agree with Boyle's more extended division. (1) The latter contributes a brief article dividing the play scene by scene and naming the hand at work in each. He points out that, of Fletcher's share in the play there can be no doubt, the double endings alone proving this completely, this metrical peculiarity separating Fletcher from all his brother playwrights. As to Massinger's share he argues: (1) That it is probable because he was working with Fletcher at this time: (2) That the metre can belong to nobody else: (3) That Massinger has references to, and repetition of expressions in, his other plays, this repetition of stock phrases and figures being characteristic of him to a degree greater than is true of any other writer ancient or modern. (2) This opinion, as thus outlined by the two critics, has met with some opposition: Mr. Swinburne, on a first reading of the play, decided that he saw the hand of Chapman; and Prof.

(1) Vol. II Appendix II.

(2) Englische Studien vol. IX, 209-239.



*Deilus*, in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* attacked the conclusions of Boyle.- It remains, then, to subject the criteria of Bullen and especially Boyle to trial: to ascertain both from previous criticism and from a reading of the works of the respective men -so well as of the general work of the period- what were the peculiarities of the two dramatists under consideration: their metrical, artistic, formal and subjective tenets, their constructive power, in fact, all that individualizes them and sets them off from other co-workers in the same lines. Especially may we note those abstract and general sentiments which are put into the mouth of their characters, as being more indicative of the personal bias and convictions of the author than those other parts which have to do alone with the action and the unfolding of a specific character. Collaterally, it will be part of this study to point out the characteristics of a production hitherto not awarded such inspection and study; a fact of course due to the short time which has elapsed since its appearance, its worth and fineness having been alluded to by more than one in a slighter or more general manner. Such an examination, having for its object the critical appreciation of the play as a work of art, a thing of beauty, is, in the highest sense, of greater importance than the indisputable at-



tribution of individual parts, scenes or lines to any particular writer whatsoever.

Before coming, however, directly to the study of Barnavelt it may be well to say a word indicating into just what period and school a play written in 1619 and supposed to be the child of the two playwrights Fletcher and Massinger, naturally falls. Mr. Saintsbury, in the book above referred to, applies the denomination Elizabethan to the literature lying between 1560-1660, explaining that by this he means to include all writing which, though dating in time as the Jacobean and even on to the Restoration period, still preserves in more or less degree the ante-Restoration spirit and style. If now the inspection be confined to the drama which may fairly be called Elizabethan in nature, it will not be far wrong to divide it into four roughly-outlined groups. The first contains the tentative work of such men as Lyly, Peele, Lodge, Greene and Nash, who, with the Moralities behind them, strove to strike out something which deserved the name of Romantic Plays. Theirs is journeymen's work, full of beauty, but unformed and experimental. The second group, which may not inaptly be termed the Youth of the English Drama, embraces Jonson, Dekker, Chapman





Heywood, Marston and above all, Marlowe, who may be said to have fixed the type for the subsequent English heroic tragedy and for blank verse as its ~~is~~ fit exponent. The third group, in which is seen the Drama in its vigorous maturity, contains the names of a bright company among whom are Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Middleton and Ford, Massinger, Shirley and Turneur with the lesser spirits, Cartwright, Broune, Randolph, Marmion Day and Powley. And finally, through these last, a time of decadence is reached, represented by the names of Crowne, Davenant and others, in which little remains of the original strength, splendor and versatility of the former periods, and in whose place is found bombast, violence and incoherency. The time covered by these four stages in the growth of our dramatic literature is about fifty years; and they picture to us the childhood, youth, age and decadence of the loosely-named Elizabethan Drama. It is needless to say that over it all broods the genius of Shakespeare, not as a phenomenon hung in mid-air and quite unaccountable, but rather as the crown and sum-total of an organic development such as literary history fails to parallel. And the play of Barnavel therefore, according to these categories, falls into the third group; name-



ly, that in which the drama is in its mid-age strength, albeit with some signs already of passing into the sadder stage of decline -as a man of forty shows a few grey hairs, but still affords to smile at them as coming out of time.-

Turning now to the play in hand, the examination may be conveniently placed under four heads: namely, (1) Metre; (2) Style; (3) Thought; (4) Character <sup>and</sup> Construction. This arrangement, it will be seen, moves from the mere formal to the mere organic and subjective side of the subject-matter, which appears to be the most satisfactory method of procedure. I take up then first the metrical peculiarities of the play. And here at the outset I wish to make a disclaimer as to my belief in the supreme value of such tests. As will shortly be seen and said, I would hold them of use only in connection with proof of other kinds, and would believe that they should never be relied upon without such collateral examination. This as against the extremists of the New Shakespeare Society School, who indulge over-much in what Mr. Swinburne calls "sign-post criticism." The head-test, as indicated above, by which to separate Fletcher's hand from that of others is the preponderance of the so-called double-ending. Or to put it in other



words, Fletcher's genius found its natural expression in lines having a tendency, especially at the end of the verse, to a trochaic rhythm; or yet again to do away with the classical nomenclature, in lines of which the last foot of two syllables (1) has the stress on the first of the two. Fleay, on examination, shows that Fletcher has 50% or more of such lines, while Massinger has at the maximum 40% and generally much less. Boyle does not anywhere state that his classifying of the scenes in Barnavel is based on an actual counting of these double-ending lines and his judgment is probably synthetic, rather than analytic: I have therefore gone carefully through the play with this in view, and with the following results:

I. <u>Double Ending Test.</u>		
<u>Act I Sc. I</u>	Total lines 182)	Per cent.
	)	
	d. e. 78)	.428
<u>Act I Sc. II</u>	Total lines 81)	Per cent.
	)	
	d. e. 29)	.358
<u>Act I Sc. III</u>	Total lines 191)	Per cent.
	)	
	d. e. 148)	.774
<u>Act II Sc. I</u>	Total lines 161)	Per cent.
	)	
	d. e. 69)	.428

(1) Transactions English Philological 1876, pp. 314-332.



<u>Act II Sc. II</u>	Total lines 85) ( d. e. 39)	Per cent.  .729
<u>Act II Sc. III</u>	Total lines 11( ) d. e. 4)	Per cent.  .363
<u>Act II Sc. IV</u>	Total lines 14) ) d. e. 10)	Per cent.  .714
<u>Act II Sc. V</u>	Total lines 16) ) d. e. 12)	Per cent.  .750
<u>Act II Sc. VI.</u>	Total lines 11) ) d. e. 9)	Per cent.  .818
<u>Act II Sc. VII</u>	Total lines 27) ) d. e. 23	Per cent.  .851
<u>Act III Sc. I.</u>	Total lines 181) ( d. e. 152)	Per cent.  .839
<u>Act III Sc. II</u>	Total lines 231) ) d. e. 82 )	Per cent.  .354
<u>Act III Sc. III</u>	Total lines 13 ) ) d. e. 7 )	Per cent.  .538





<u>Act III Sc. IV</u>	Total lines 127) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 101)	.716
<u>Act III Sc. V</u>	Total lines 26) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 14)	.534
<u>Act III Sc. VI</u>	Total lines 79) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 52)	.656
<u>Act IV Sc. I</u>	Total lines 85) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 69)	.811
<u>Act IV Sc. II</u>	Total lines 57) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 47)	.825
<u>Act IV Sc. III</u>	Total lines 168) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 122)	.720
<u>Act IV Sc. IV</u>	Total lines 40) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 21)	.525
<u>Act IV Sc. V</u>	Total lines 190) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 88)	.463
<u>Act V Sc. I</u>	Total lines 199) )	Per cent.
	d. e. 123)	.618



<u>Act V Sc. II</u>	Total lines 45)	Per cent.
	)	
	d. e. 37)	.822

<u>Act V Sc. III</u>	Total lines 190)	Per cent.
	d. e. 156)	.822

For the sake of comparison I now give Boyle's table:

Boyle's Distribution Of The Parts Of The Play.

Act I Sc. I	Massinger
" I " II	"
" I " III	Fletcher
" II " I	Massinger
" II " II	Fletcher
" II " III	Probably Fletcher
" II " IV	" "
" II " V	" "
" II " VI	" "
" II " VII	" "
"III " I	Fletcher
"III " II	Massinger
"III " III	"
"III " IV	Fletcher
"III " V	Massinger



Act III Sc. VI		Fletcher
" IV "	I	Fletcher
" IV "	II	"
" IV "	III	"
" IV "	IV	Massinger (apparently)
" IV "	V	" (no clear Massingerisms)
" V "	I	Massinger
" V "	II	Fletcher
" V "	III	"

If the results of my table be compared with Boyle's division of the play, it will be seen that so far as this double-ending test goes, they substantiate almost exactly his conclusions. In act II, Scenes III, IV, V, VI and VII are set down as "probably" belonging to Fletcher;- the only scene in which my table disputes this is the first-named (act II sc. III) where the percentage (.363) is so small as to point decidedly to Massinger. The scene is so slight, however, as to make metrical tests, unsupported by other testimony, dangerous to lean down on. We may therefore hold this scene in question until other considerations lead to a judgment. It is also to



be noticed that scenes IV and V in Act IV, which are spoken of as "apparently" belonging to Massinger, seem to be his by the double-ending test, the percentage being low in each, viz. .525 and .463. The only scene which judging from my table appears to differ out and out from Boyle is Act V Sc. I, where the percentage (.618) would plainly indicate Fletcher. Especial attention therefore is to be given to this scene in the tests to come.

## II

Run-on Line Test.

The second important metrical test, as applied especially to Massinger is that of the run-on line (1); that is a line in which the sense requires no pause at the end of the verse, but attaches itself to the verse following. Such a line-type is far removed from that crystallized by Marlowe, which may be looked upon as the starting-point for the dramatic verse (2) blank of the Elizabethans. In this is found a parallel line construction, the sense requiring, as a general thing, a comma at the end of the verse and sentence. The following extract from Tamberlaine The Great IV 2 illustrates the point:

- (1) Boyle, *Englische Studien* vol. IX pp. 209-239.  
 (2) Boyle, " " " "





By Mahomet! thy mighty friend, I swear,  
 In sending to my issue such a soul,  
 Created of the massy dregs of earth,  
 The scum and tartar of the elements,  
 Wherein was neither courage, strength or wit,  
 But folly, sloth and damnéd idleness,  
 Thou hast procured a greater enemy  
 Than he that darted mountains at thy head,  
 Shaking the burden mighty Atlas bears.

Set over against this a quotation from Massinger, The Great Duke Of Florence, V, 2, and the difference is clear;

This compassion in you  
 Must make the colour of his guilt more ugly  
 The honours we have hourly heaped upon him,  
 The titles, the rewards, to the envy of  
 The old nobility, as the common people,  
 We now forbear to touch at, and will only  
 Insist on his gross wrongs to you. You were pleased,  
 Forgetting both yourself and proper greatness,



To favor him, nay, to court him to embrace  
 A happiness which, on his knees, with joy  
 He should have sued for.

I now give a table of the run-on lines in the play:

<u>Act I Sc. I</u>	Total lines 182)	Per cent.
	)	
	P. o. 73)	.401
<u>Act I Sc. II</u>	T. l. 81)	Per cent.
	)	
	r. o. 38)	.201
<u>Act I Sc. III</u>	T. l. 198)	Per cent.
	(	
	r. o. 30)	.151
<u>Act II Sc. I</u>	T. l. 161)	Per cent.
	(	
	r. o. 50)	.483
<u>Act II Sc. II</u>	T. l. 85)	Per cent.
	)	
	r. o. 12)	.141
<u>Act II Sc. III</u>	T. l. 11)	Per cent.
	)	
	r. o. 3)	.272
<u>Act II Sc. IV</u>	T. l. 14)	Per cent.
	)	
	r. o. 3)	.214



<u>Act II Sc. V</u>	T. 1.	16)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	2)	.125
<u>Act II Sc. VI</u>	T. 1.	11)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	1)	.09
<u>Act II Sc. VII</u>	T. 1.	27)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	5)	.185
<u>Act III Sc. I</u>	T. 1.	181)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	37)	.204
<u>Act III Sc. II</u>	T. 1.	231)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	87)	.372
<u>Act III Sc. III</u>	T. 1.	13)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	4)	.307
<u>Act III Sc. IV</u>	T. 1.	127)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	18)	.142
<u>Act III Sc. V</u>	T. 1.	26)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	6)	.230
<u>Act III Sc. VI</u>	T. 1.	79)	Per cent.
		)	
	r. o.	9)	.113



<u>Act IV Sc. I</u>	T. 1.	85)	Per cent.
	r. o.	16)	.188
<u>Act IV Sc. II</u>	T. 1.	57)	Per cent.
	r. o.	11)	.192
<u>Act IV Sc. III</u>	T. 1.	168)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 36)	.214
<u>Act IV Sc. IV</u>	T. 1.	40)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 14)	.350
<u>Act IV Sc. V</u>	T. 1.	190)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 78)	.416
<u>Act V Sc. I</u>	T. 1.	199)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 83)	.417
<u>Act V Sc. II</u>	T. 1.	45)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 7)	.155
<u>Act V Sc. III</u>	T. 1.	190)	Per cent.
	r. o.	( 27)	.142





A comparison once again of this run-on line table with Boyle's classification, shows that the former corroborates it in every case, and indeed gives additional proof touching IV, 4 and 5 to verify Boyle's not sure opinion that they belong to Massinger. The double-ending test affirmed this, and now the run-on lines in those scenes make stronger the presumption. As Boyle has not counted the run-on lines this, so far as it goes, may be looked upon as independent proof strengthening his position. It is interesting to note that in scenes III, IV, V, VI and VII of Act II the last test again awards to Massinger all but the first (scene III), thus agreeing with the double-ending test which, in disagreement with Boyle, gave the scene to Fletcher.

### III The Weak And Light Ending Test.

The remaining metrical tests, the so-called weak and light ending lines, are really sub-groups under the run-on line. As however one of them, the weak ending, is regarded as a marked peculiarity of Massinger (1), it may be well to examine our play as to the frequency of the occurrence both of the weak and light endings, thus making one group of the two closely-allied classes. Prof. Dowden (2) calls them both weak endings and

(1) Old English Plays vol. II p. 251, note. p. 41

(2) Shakespeare, by Edward Dowden, Literature Primer Series,



distinguishes them as follows: "Two degrees of the weak ending have been distinguished; 'on the words which belong to the one of these groups the voice can to a small extent dwell;' the others so precipitate the reader forward that we are forced to run them, no less in pronunciation than in sense, into the closest connection with the opening words of the succeeding line;' the former have been named 'light endings,' the latter 'weak endings.' To the former class belong am, are, be, can, could; the auxiliaries do, does, has, had; I, they, then and others. The latter -the weak endings- are more fugitive and evanescent in character, including such words as and, for, from, if, in, of, or." Combining these two classes of endings, then, and considering them as a subdivision under run-on lines, but worthy of separate treatment as pointing out a distinct metrical characteristic, I find the play yielding the following table:

Weak And Light Endings.

<u>Act I Sc. I</u>	Per cent. .115
<u>Act I Sc. II</u>	Per cent. .05
<u>Act I Sc. III</u>	Per cent. .045



Act II Sc. I Per cent. .055

Act II Sc. II 0

Act II Sc. III Per cent. .09

Act II Sc. IV 0

Act II Sc. V 0

Act II Sc. VI 0

Act II Sc. VII 0

Act III Sc. I 0

Act III Sc. II Per cent. .095

Act III Sc. III 0

Act III Sc. IV Per cent. .023

Act III Sc. V. Per cent .038

Act III Sc. VI Per cent. .012

Act IV Sc. I Per cent. .047

Act IV Sc. II 0



<u>Act IV Sc. III</u>	Per cent. .023
<u>Act IV Sc. IV</u>	Per cent. .05
<u>Act IV Sc. V</u>	Per cent. .084
<u>Act V Sc. I</u>	Per cent. .09
<u>Act V Sc. II</u>	Per cent. .02
<u>Act V Sc. III</u>	Per cent. .016

A comparison of this table with Boyle's division, will show that, in the main and so far as it goes, it corroborates him. Those scenes which have a markedly large percentage of weak and light endings, as, III, 2, IV, 5, V, 1, are to be given to Massinger; while those with a decidedly small percentage, as, I, 1, III 4, III 6, IV 3, and V 2 and 3, are, by the law of exclusion to be ascribed to Fletcher. Of course, those scenes where no such endings occur (II 2, II 4, II 5, II 7, III 1, III 3, IV 2) indicate, other things being equal, that Fletcher's hand is at work. But as a number of these possess a very few lines, little can be based on the results they give. A number of scenes still remain which admit of a doubt as to





authorship, so far as the present test goes. These are: I 2, I 3, II 1, IV 1, IV 4. Boyle gives I 2 to Massinger (per cent. .05) I 3 (per cent. .045) to Fletcher, II 1 (per cent. .055) to Massinger, and here two of the three scenes possessing the highest per cent. are rightfully attributed to Massinger. IV 1 (per cent. .047) he gives to Fletcher, and here the figures again do not get so high as .05. But IV 4 he gives to Massinger, and we notice that the per cent. is .05. Hence there is no discrepancy between my table and Boyle's classification, the law seeming to hold that Massinger does not get below 5% of weak and light endings and runs as high as 9%, while Fletcher varies from 1% to nearly, but never quite, 5%.

This, then, concludes the metrical testing of the play: and the examination shows that Boyle's division is backed up by such tests: that they strengthen him in II 4, 5, 6 and 7 and in IV 4 and 5; while they dispute him only in II 3. But it must now be remarked that, in ascertaining by metrical tests what in Barnave is non-Massingerian -as by applying the double ending test- or what is non-Fletcherian -as by a study of the run-on line- we do not at the same time prove that the material examined belongs to the other author. If a certain scene has a



noticeably large number of run-on lines it may be concluded that it is not Fletcher's; but to take a step farther and say that it is Massinger's, can only be done -if the study be confined to metres- when all other possible authors have been examined with regard to their use of this device, and shown that Massinger surpasses them all. The tests, then, up to this point, simply indicate what is not Fletcher and not Massinger, and establish a presumption in favor of one or the other. To confirm this presumption is the business of the future examination. Moreover, as was stated above, all metrical tests should, in my opinion, be used only as supplementary to other proof, and not allowed to decide alone in any doubtful play or scene. There is danger in placing over-confidence in such proof; on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that a man's use of metre has a psychological side, as well as a formal or artistic, and is really indicative of his mental make-up and attitude. Thus, with Fletcher, his persistent and often monotonous use of the trochaic measure -of which the double ending is but a phase- points to a certain quality of mind and nature. There was in him a morning freshness, a sun-rise optimism, which found fit expression in the trochaic lilt, so much more



buoyant and virile than the stately, sedate beat of the iambus. It does not seem far-fetched or finical to say that in using this measure Fletcher showed himself much more Germanic in his mood and consciousness than a poet who naturally adopts and assimilates the unvaried iambic rhythm. But when this conceded, and when the concession already made, to the effect that Boyle's division of Barnavelt is substantiated by a thorough metrical examination of individual scenes, is repeated, it still remains true that such testimony as is furnished by the expression and thought of a play, is of much higher value than any metrical test. (1) The remarks of an English Scholar, are here in point. Preferring to such tests when applied to disputed parts of alleged Beaumont Fletcher plays, he says: "This is a pretty enough game to play at and one which necessitates far too careful an examination of the plays to be anything but useful. Its correctness, however, rests upon certain assumptions to which I at least must decline in all humility to commit myself without reserve. They are: that no poet will ever completely change his style; and that two poets working together will not so affect each other that their most marked characteristics and individualities become interchanged. Unless negative assumptions of

(1) Beaumont and Fletcher, Mermaid Series edited by J. S. L. Strachey, London, 1887. Introduction p. 18-19 and p. 25.



this kind are granted there is little use in relying on internal criticism to separate the work of Beaumont and Fletcher: otherwise, what we pick out from the joint work as pure Fletcher, may really be Beaumont captivated by Fletcher's felicity of expression: what we discern as unlike Fletcher, and so assign to Beaumont, may in reality be Fletcher, rising under the fellow-poet's influence to a poetic height not reached by him when his comrade's hand was relaxed upon the lyre they once had struck together." The italics are mine. Again, Mr. Strachey remarks; "It is pleasant enough to spin fancies such as these, but who dare call it more than guess-work?" We cannot but believe that this attitude, perhaps stated less drastically, is the safer and truer one. Even such a prophet of internal criticism as Boyle himself has the following significant sentence in a recent article: "For my own part, a metrical analysis is sufficient to convince me whether Massinger's hand is present in a play or not. But it would be absurd to demand agreement to my conclusions on this ground. Metrical tests are neither well enough understood, nor believed in, to justify such a demand. They are new, and, like everything new, have to make their way in the world." And in another place, in

(1) Englische Studien X p. 210.





criticizing Fleay's tables, he affirms that the latter errs in applying metrical tests before getting a general notion of a man's style. This leads up to the right view. The intelligible reading of the indisputable plays of a given dramatist, should always precede such ticklish investigation as that based on rhythmical tricks, turns and features. Bearing this in mind, the play may be approached and studied from the point of view of expression or style, with the judgment unhampered by the foregoing results, save in so far as they establish an antecedent probability in favor of one writer or the other.



II.STYLE.

I take up Barnavelti scene by scene, with an eye to all that comes under the category expression. In this division of the subject two papers by Boyle (1), in which he has collected the parallel passages occurring in the plays written by Massinger alone, and in those written by him in conjunction with another author, are of great importance. I am thus enabled to supplement examples drawn from my own reading of the plays by many others, showing, under this present Caption, Style, the repetition of figures and words, and under the next Caption, that of Thought, the repetition of an idea expressed in more or less similar language.-

Parallelisms in Expression.

In bringing forward the examples from each scene I give the scene to Massinger or Fletcher according to the metrical analysis, and then try to strengthen a probability by the parallel passages.- The examples are all from the works of Massinger.

(1) Englische Studien IV 209-239  
 " " X 353-412.



Act I Sc. I. (Massinger).

P. 210 Barnavelt When I should pass with glory to my rest

Virgin Martyr V, 3, 149

And now, in the evening, When thou shouldest  
pass with honour to thy rest,

Wilt thou fall like a meteor?

P. 215 One of the Lords, the States

The Spanish Curate I, 1, 357. And what

Defence my Lords, the States, prepare

P. 212 Barnavelt For when did he enter the field

But t'was by your allowance.

New Way To Pay Old Debts- Epilogue

But your allowance, and in that our all

Is comprehended.

(Also Elder Brother I, 1, 44 and Emperor Of East

V 2.)

P. 212 Barnavelt You move to your destruction.

Virgin Martyr I 1, 455

But for the dancer

Or call it, if you will, assured  
destruction.



P. 211 Barnavelt

That now should study how to die

The Maid Of Honour V 2.

Let it be your study

Hereafter to deserve this blessing.

P. 212 Barnavelt

I know not what you aim at.

The Little French Lawyer.

And aimed more

At what her youth and heat of blood requires

P. 213 Barnavelt

Like Barnavelt, and in that all is spoken

The Custom Of The Country II 3

In that alone all miseries are spoken.

P. 213 Barnavelt

I'll ne'er inquire what 'tis you go about.

The Two Noble Kinsmen, I 2, 98

'Tis bad he goes about.





Also, Henry VIII. I, 1, 131.

P. 215 Barnavelt

Your regiment is cast

The Dutch Marriage(p. 7 Dyce's Edition)

P. 212

His regiment is cast

Your brothers, sons,

Friends, families made rich in trust and honours.

Two Noble Kinsmen I, 4, 41.

Since I have known frights, fury, friend's behest,

Love's provocations, zeal, a mistress' task.

(Same construction)

P. 213 Barnavelt

And you shall find that the desire for glory

Was the last frailty wise men ere put off.

A Very Woman

Though the desire of fame be the last weakness

Wise men put off.

P. 213 Barnavelt

The fire of honour

Burns hotly in me.



The Guardian

Do not fan

A fire that burns already too hot in me.

Act I, Sc. II.

(Massinger)

P. 218 Barnavelt

We need not add this wind by our observance

To sails too full already.

Unnatural Combat II, 3, 18.

And like too large a sail, for the bark of my small  
merits,

Sink me.

Also, Duke Of Milan IV 3, 79.

Pondusa (p. 757, Dyce's Edition.)

Loyal Subject (p. 917 Dyce)

P. 219 Barnavelt

In this disgrace I have one foot on his neck:

Ere long I'll set the other on his head,

And sink him to the center

Double Marriage (p. 101 Dyce)

He trod upon your necks



The Humorous Lieutenant (p. 112 Dyce)

Unless she live i' the center

(i. e. the middle of the earth)

P. 219 Barnavelt

I never saw the Advocate so moved

The Sea Voyage II 2.

'Tis strange to see her moved thus

P. 219

O, my Lords, what will you do?

The Emperor Of The East V 1

And I would do -but I know not what to think on't.

(The use of do in such collocations is a marked mannerism with Massinger)

Act I. Sc. III.

(Fletcher)

The Parallel passages cited under Fletcher's scenes in Barnavelt are all from Fletcher's plays or from Fletcher's parts of plays written by him and others.

P. 226

I'll studdy to correct them



Comp. p. 248

p. 278            where this same idiom occurs and notice that they both fall in scenes given to Fletcher by the previous tests.

Act II I

(Massinger)

P. 231

The glory that we aim at.

Comp. p. 212

p. 254, both of which scenes are Massinger's by previous tests.

P. 232            This I foresaw

Fair Maid Of The Inn I 2,    This I foresaw.

P. 232

O, I am lost with anger

Little French Lawyer I 1, 217

I am lost with rage

P. 233

And something there I'll do.





Maid Of Honour V 1,

And something I will do

(Also Renegade III 3

A very common expression in Massin-

The Bondman " 2,103

ger; vide previous example also I,2.

Guardian II 3 146

P. 233

That shall divert the torrent

Guardian I 1, 83

This torrent must be stopped

Also, Emperor Of East III 2

P. 231

When the hot lion's breath

Burns up the fields.

Parliament Of Love I, 4.

When the hot lion's breath

Singeth the fields

P. 233

And from freemen grown

Slaves so contemptible (et. al.)



Believe As You List (p. 11 Crocker's Edition.)

I, that born and bred a king - - - now exposed  
To the contempt and scorn of my own slave.

P. 235

Let me, with them,  
Be ne'er remembered

The Maid Of Honour V 2.

My benefits - - - no more remembered

Also, Idem III, 1

The Great Duke of Florence V 3

Act II 4.

(Fletcher)

P. 239

We stand all ready for your Grace

Same page: We shall stand sure

P. 240

Where are the Arminian soldiers?

They stand 'ith market-place

Same page. And now stand to your ancient freedoms!



P. 241

The English make a stand upon the new companies.

This frequent, piled-up use of this idiom with two pages, the scenes all Fletcher's, is remarkable

Comp.

Valentinian II 4.

If you do, Sir,

Take heed you stand to't

Act II, 6.

(Fletcher)

P. 241

Their fear outstinks their garlic

A King And No King (Beaumont and Fletcher p. 12 Mermaid Series)

By my troth, thou wouldst ha' struck 'em both out  
'o the lists. (Referring to the fear of the person addressed)

Act III 1.

(Fletcher)

P. 248

Nor am I now to study how to die so

The Double Marriage (p. 79 Dyce's Ed.) Let's study to die well



P. 248

This blinded State, that plays at bo-peep with us

The Loyal Subject (p. 943 Dyce's Edition)

Play at bo-peep with his pleasure

Also,

Wit Without Money (p. 637 Dyce's Edition)

Act III 2.

(Massinger)

P. 254

What does Your Excellence aim at?

Compare Act II 1, and examples.

(Appendix to III 1)

Act III 1

P. 247

You know the Prince and know his noble nature,

I think you know his power too.

Henry VIII 1, 109

You know his nature

That he's revengeful, and I know his sword

Hath a sharp edge.-





P. 256

I'll instantly about it (Compare A Very Woman, V, 1, 36.)

P. 257

But something I shall do  
Compare example Act II 1 (Massinger's)

P. 251

You are your own disposers.

The Fatal Dowry V, 1, 150.

To be at his disposing

P. 252

But that is not the hazard I would shun.

Duke Of Milan IV, 2, 27

Though with the hazard of a check, perhaps

Also,

The Emperor Of The East II 1

Act III 4.

(Fletcher)

P. 259

And take but that sure hold I aim it at  
(Compare III 2 p. 254 already quoted also again in this scene,  
p. 261.)



P. 263

A long farewell, Sir

Valentinian (p. 839 Dyce's Edition.)

A long farewell, Sir

Also (Bouduca p. 782 Dyce's Edition.) Loyal Subject (p. 918 Dyce) Double Marriage III 3. Henry VIII, III, 2, 351)

There are numerous other examples: this is perhaps the most frequent repetition in Fletcher.

P. 262

Then let 'em sift our actions from our ashes

Monsieur Thomas (p. 264 Dyce's Edition.)

Wouldst thou wert ashes.

Also,

Double Marriage (p. 95 Dyce)

Act III 5.

(Massinger)

P. 264

At no part

Guardian II 1, 64

At all parts



P. 264

And has at best a painted liberty

The Pilgrim (p. 237 Pyce)

Thou painted honour!

(This then, looks like a Fletcher touch.)

Act III 6.

(Fletcher)

P. 265

Sweet heart, farewell,

Farewell forever.

(Compare references to Act III 4 p. 263)

P. 266

The iron sleep of death

(Compare iron-touthed envy p. 247, which is Fletcher's)

P. 267

My long sleep now has seized me

(Compare a long farewell, p. 263 and other examples.)



Act IV 1.(Fletcher)P. 272

I am undone forever

(Compare II 5, p. 240, which is Fletcher's)

P. 271

Have crackt the ax-tree with a trick

(Compare II 5 p. 240: also Fletcher's)

P. 272

It shall be brought out presently

(Compare II 4, p. 239, also Fletcher's)

That will be with you presently-

Act IV 3.(Fletcher)P. 280

And those he little dreams of.

A Wife For A Month (p. 593 Dyce)

Joys we dream of

Also

The Double Marriage (p. 70, Dyce)





Fletcher is very fond of the use of this word, both directly and figuratively Compare Barnavel III 4, p. 262.

P. 282

The thirsty prince of this poor life

(i. e. the prince thirsty for this poor life)

Knight Of Malta II, 3, 67.

Thou naked man of all that we call noble.

Also

The Double Marriage III 3.

This construction, the putting of the predicate adjective in the attributive position, is peculiar and worth noticing as a mark of Fletcher.-

P. 282

You most ungrateful.

The Roman Actor (p. 148 Dyce)

Ungrateful(as a noun) also p. 160. The expression occurs constantly in Duke Of Milan, in this independent, hortatory use.

P. 277

The stubborn fortune of thy wretched father



Compare IV 2, p. 274 Those stubborn necks &c.

The scene is also Fletcher's.

P. 280

It shall go hard else

Bouduca V 2.

It shall go hard, friends

But he shall find his own coin

Act IV 4.

(Massinger)

P. 284

His feet upon the neck

Of all his enemies.--

(Compare p. 219 which is also Massinger's)

Act IV 5.

(Massinger)

P. 288

O, you forgetful!

(Compare p. 246 and p. 282 which are Fletcher's)

For this and other reasons I take this scene to be the work of both men: this will be touched on in treating a later division of the subject.



P. 288

But to engrosse all

The Double Marriage (p. 70 Dyce)

If you would engross me

To your delights alone

P. 292

You can apply this.

The Virgin Martyr I, I, 391

Pray you apply this.

P. 292

You rise and I grow tedious

(Tedious occurs 4 times in Believe As You List)

P. 286

Too evident proofs.

Compare p. 287

Too many and strong proofs

(This scene is Massenger's)

P. 288

Let it not in me

Be now held glorious, if I speak my best.



Fair Maid Of The Inn

Let it not taste of arrogance that I say it

P. 292            When I am ashes

(Compare preceding examples)

Act V 1.

(Massinger)

P. 300

Certain and unanswerable proofs

(Compare pp. 286 and 287 as mentioned above)

P. 297

And what we dare now lies at the stake

(Compare references above given to use of do)

Also p. 301-    The world shall know that whats just we dare do.

P. 301

And so farewell

This points to Fletcher and his hand seems to assist in this scene: this will be discussed later.

P. 296-7

But you shall find their flattering breath but makes

The fire - - - - to burn with greater heat.





The Bondman V 1, 58

That will bring fuel  
To the jealous fires that burn too hot already.

Act V 3.

(Fletcher)

P. 310

Oh you most greedy men and most ungrateful!  
(Compare pp. 246, 282 and 288 which are Fletcher's)

P. 312

This unthankful Country  
(Compare previous examples of this use)

P. 311

And women wanted wombs to feed your cruelties

The Mad Lover (p. 9 Dyce)

Mothers have wanted wombs to make me famous  
(Considering the boldness of this figure, this is perhaps the most striking parallel in the play; Boyle has not noticed it.)

P. 313

Tell him the sun he shot at now is setting

Henry VIII III 2, 415-416

That sun I pray may never set.



P. 314

Honor and world I fling ye thus behind me

A Wife For A Month (p. 593)

All I fling behind me

Also

Humorous Lieutenant (p. 143 Dyce)The Island Princess (p. 311 Dyce)P. 314

Farewell, great heart.

(Compare previous examples of the use of this stock word of  
Fletcher's)

P. 310

The throes and groans to bring fair peace amongst  
ye

The Loyal Subject (p. 947)

To fright fair peace



The examples above cited seem to strongly strengthen the presumption set up by the metrical analyses as to the authorship of the different scenes. They adduce similar or almost exactly the same expressions and figures occurring in other plays of the writer in question: or else parallels occurring in different scenes of Barnavelt, which are assumed to be by the same hand. In the case of a few of the examples, it is impossible not to feel that they are conclusive. For instance, when the lines of Massinger on p. 213 of Barnavelt:

Read but o'er the stones, &c.

are set over against the parallel from A Very Woman, there is but one conclusion; namely, that they are the work of one and the same man, similarly, the quotation from Barnavelt, p. 311:

And women, &c.

compared with its fellow-passage in The Mad Lover, is proof equally strong that Fletcher is the begetter of both.- Of course, some of the examples cited, where the correspondence depends on the use of a single word (as "destruction") may be objected to on the ground that such a word is the common property of all writers of the time and therefore not significant. I have, however, tried only to give them when they were used in



a connection which seems personal and peculiar: moreover, the large majority of the correspondences are those not depending on single words but rather on word-collocations and idioms.-

I now mention some of the devices of expression which indicate or are claimed to indicate the one writer or the other.

Bullen, in a foot-note to p. 252 vol. II, remarks that Massinger is noticeably fond of the parenthesis. An examination of the play with this in mind shows the statement to be carried out. In the Massinger scenes the parenthesis is made use of 25 times, while the Fletcher parts of the play contain but 14 such instances; and this when the whole number of the Fletcher lines surpasses Massinger's share considerably.-

#### The Suffix -tion

Boyle in a note, referring to the line (p. 253);

Of what condition soever, we

Palliate sedition

where -tion in condition must be pronounced dissyllabic to make the metre, says; "Massinger is almost the only late dramatist who has a large number of dissyllabic "tions." His share presents many such cases." In our opinion this point is exaggerated; examples can be given ad libitum from Fletcher alone as





well as from other equally late writers where the dissyllabic  
pronunciation is indisputable. <sup>(1)</sup> The following may be cited  
from Fletcher:

The Loyal Subject (p. 925)

A little seasoned with ambition

Bouduca (p. 771)

Your whinings and your tame petitions.

Idem (p. 771)

The rest hangs on our resolutions

Wit Without Money (p. 657)

Because I love not those vexations

A Wife For A Month (p. 593)

Is not the end of our ambitions

Rule A Wife And Have A Wife

Put up, my lord, this is oppression

Women Pleased (p. 149)

How bright they shine, like constellations

These examples will suffice to show that, with Fletcher, this

(1) Vol. II Appendix II p. 438.



older pronunciation of the suffix was common.- But we find the same thing in so late a play as The Witch Of Edmonton, the joint production of Rowley, Dekker, Ford and others, which was not performed until 1633, several years after the appearance of Barnavelt. In I, 2, (p. 399 Mermaid Edition of Dekkar) we have:

None that I'll send for

To you, for hire of a damnation

Same act and scenes (p. 401):

Perhaps thou thinks't it is thy portion

And a little later (p. 404) we get the same word, portion used as 2 syllables:

If you marry

With wealthy Carter's daughter, there's a portion

This shows the state of flux and flow at the time with regard to this matter.- Two words, or forms of words may be noticed in Barnavelt as especially characteristic of Fletcher. They are, the elipt pronoun 'em (-them), and the nominative ye used for the objective you. Bullen mentions Fletcher's fondness for the latter form. When it is stated that Fletcher, in Barnavelt, uses ye in this manner 96 times, against 2 by Massin-



ger, and 'em 37 times, to 3 by Massinger, it will be seen that this marks a valid distinction between the two men. It may be remarked that a study of the play with this point in view, also throws light on a short scene in which our metrical analysis differed from the opinion of Boyle. Namely, in II 3, the double-ending test gave a percentage of but .363, which would point to Massinger. We before remarked, however, that in a slight scene of only 11 lines metrical tests were not, of course, to be relied upon; and now when we find the use of 'em four times in this scene in as many lines, Boyle's conjecture that Fletcher's hand is at work is much strengthened. We quote the passage:

P. 238

To bind their strength upon 'em.

Soldier

It shall be done,

Captain

Do you disperse to the old Companies,

Bid 'em be ready; tell 'em now is the time

And charge 'em keep a strong eye o'er the Burgers.

We cite a few examples of ye and 'em from other plays of Fletcher:

The Island Princess (p. 311)

What honorable things ye cast behind ye



The Double Marriage (p. 95)

And he shall like ye

Valentinian II 5

Then I'll thank ye

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely from Fletcher.

The Mad Lover I 1

Speak 'em.

Valentinian II 5

All ours love 'em.

Idem

(within half dozen lines of former)

There's nothing to deserve 'em

If any play of Fletcher's be examined with these two peculiarities in mind almost every page will yield examples; while if a similar attempt be made with one of Massinger's, it will be found far more difficult.-

Another characteristic of Fletcher's is what may be called the Repetend. This word is adopted by the poet-critic Stedman, to denote the device originated by Poe: namely, the repetition,





with a slight change of words, of the line or lines of a stanza. As this:

A rosemary odor commingled with pansies,  
With me and the beautiful Puritan pansies.-

I use the term Repetend as applying to Fletcher's noticeable tendency to repeat words and phrases within small limits, especially when he is in an emotional impassioned state of mind and feeling. In honest writing, such a state, and only such a state, is sure to produce, more than at any other time, repetition; hence alliteration and word-repeating when the emotions are stirred. The use of the Repetend then is a marked mannerism -or better, characteristic- of the finer-wrought of the two poets who wrote Barnavelt. The examples scattered throughout the play are very numerous: Only a few of the most striking are given, with supplementary passages outside of Barnavelt, in order to prove the point. Of course all the examples are taken from the presumable Fletcher parts of the play.

P. 225

Our Country, Sir, our Country bears the blow too.

P. 241.

The Prince, the Prince, the Prince! O our husbands!  
Go pray, go pray, go pray! we shall be hanged all.



P. 244

Most sure he is suspected, strongly suspected.

P. 248

What is this man, this Prince, &c.

P. 250

What a dull fool was I,  
A stupid fool.

P. 260

There was a blow, a full blow at our fortunes.

P. 262

Die willingly  
Die suddenly and bravely.-

P. 263

Farewell, my last farewell,  
A long farewell, Sir.

P. 277

The soldier, O the false soldier!

P. 282

This is the Prince, the cruel Prince your master,  
The thirstie Prince of this poor life.-



P. 301

And lay those instruments open to the world,  
Those bloody and bold instruments you wrought by.-

P. 306

They'll stir so long till some of 'em will sink for't,  
Some of the best, I fear.

P. 310

Aye, the traitor, the foul traitor.

P. 311

Bethink you of your justice - - - -

Bethink ye of the travels I had for ye,  
Think through whose care ye are a nation  
And have a name yet left-a fruitful nation;  
And then turn back and blush, blush for my ruin.

'Tis strange how this one brags.'Tis a strange impudence.

Blush in thy age, bad man, thy grave blush for thee.

Examples from other plays.Henry VIII. II 2

The third day comes a frost, a killing frost.



A King And No King IV 2.

Oh, thou fool, thou fool.

Thou family of fools-

Pouduca IV 3

Reg. Most honoured Sir!

Poen. Most hated, most abhorred!

Say so, and then ye know me, nay, ye please me,

Oh, my dear credit, my dear credit!

Valentinian IV 4

Weep, Rome! weep, Italy! weep, all that knew him!

The subject of figures, in a play like Barnaveit, discussed with a view to separating thereby the work of the two authors, is a dangerous one to handle. In the parallels already given, some of them have shown similarity of metaphors and figures: but within the limits of a single play, and that of such a kind as the one under consideration, where the lyrical faculty has little or no chance to fly, results can hardly be reached which would indicate organic differences in this respect, and so help to substantiate authorship. Still, a word or two may be said as to the general scope and tendency of Massinger and Fletcher in the use of figurative language. The





figures of the latter are, speaking broadly, creatures of the understanding: hence we expect the full simile rather than the condensed and more poetical metaphor: and where the metaphor is used, a result that comes from skill and straining, rather than by the happy inspiration of the moment. The fact already mentioned and illustrated, that Massinger repeats words and figures more than any playwright of his time, is proof positive that they were, so to say, a stock in trade, ready at any time and in any place for use. Now and then, to be sure, he strikes out a happy compound word or a phrase, which has in it a touch of that intuitive off-hand power which marks genius as opposed to good taste and mastery of matter-in-hand. Thus, in his part of The Noble Kinsmen, (V 1, 50) the line:

I am bride-habited,

But maiden-hearted,

has the quality we speak of, the expression of the given thought being beautiful and fit. Or in Barnavelt I 1 (p. 212) we have:

If I fall

I shall not be alone, for in my ruins

My enemies shall find their sepulchres,

(1) See Englische Studien X 383-385 for parallel passages proving this.



Where the figure is strong and not imaginative, it reminds -though at a distance- of Chaucer's line at the end of the Clerk's Tale:

Griseld is dead and eke her patience,

And both at once buried in Italy.

But generally speaking, Massinger's tropes and metaphors excite at best our admiration and not our wonder. With Fletcher the case is different. He belongs to the fellowship of those who are capable of an occasional rise out of their normal any-time power into a region strange and high: of putting forth something that, in cooler moments, is as inexplicable to them as to others.- Hence his figures are less conventional, less to be counted on, more inevitable, -if the word may be used to express that fitness which at times marries thought and expression. We find him, too, as a true poet must, seizing on some great natural object, or law of nature, and using it to set forth and garment his idea. The sea furnishes him perhaps more food for figuration than any one other thing: examples of this there are not a few in Barnavelt, and they abound in the other plays. This shows him to be thoroughly an English poet, even as, in the opinion hitherto expressed, did the use of the



end-trochee, on the metrical side of his style. So also is he fond of prefiguring the life of man under the similitude of another great natural object, the sun. This is well-illustrated in Barnavelt (V 3, p. 313 and elsewhere), in Wolsey's speech in Henry VIII and in numerous other places in his plays. For the lyrical side of his poetic power, which is seen in such exquisite to-and-fro in The Faithful Shepheress, it is fruitless, as said above look to Barnavelt, the nature of the subject-matter and treatment excluding it. But there is, in its place, imaginative language which is begotten of strong feeling in the sterner, deeper and more passionate aspects of human life. Massinger, it may be felt, belongs to another world than Shakespeare; Fletcher has a right to stand as his liegeman, not ill-loved nor kept too far from his person.-

Treating of Style somewhat more broadly than with the view which has to do with mere word-use, one may say that Massinger's normal movement is dignified and grave, with a tendency to drop at times below a true poetical level thus reaching the level of prose. Hartley Coleridge, has remarked how little Massinger's verse is distinguished from prose: and such a metrical peculiarity as the run-on line furthers this effect. Says Mr. Bullen (1); "In all Massinger's work there is admir-

(1) (Old English Plays vol. II p. 204)



able ease and dignity; if his words are seldom bathed in tears or steeped in fire, yet he never writes beneath his subject." This expresses perhaps as well as may be the flow of Massinger's style. One familiar with his plays will hardly look for scenes of simple touching beauty and pathos: it is hard, if not impossible, to bring to mind one such situation in any of his known works. An occasional line there may be: as in that scene in The Maid Of Honour, where the rejected lover Adorne is sent by the woman he loves to the rescue of the man on whom her love is set, and who is therefore his rival.

"You will do this? inquires the lady;

"Faithfully, Madam; (aside) but not live long after."

But, speaking by and large, the pathetic is so wanting in Massinger, that the appearance of it, -that is, the appearance of what unpretentiously and directly finds its way to the heart-looks suspicious in any play, or part of a play, attributed to him. Mr. Bullen errs, it seems to me, when he holds that Massinger's gravity was linked with a power of pathos. For instance, in one place he says: "To the graver writer, too, we must set Ledenberg's solemn and pathetic soliloquy (III 6),





when by a voluntary death he is seeking to make amends for his inconstancy and escape from the toils of his persecutors."

But the examination has shown this particular scene to be Fletcher's and it is much more in accordance with his power. Indeed, it should not be forgotten for a moment that Fletcher was as much at home in the depiction of emotion, in touching the human tender chords of action and interaction as he was in those impassioned passages for which he is justly celebrated but upon which so much weight has been laid as to draw away attention from the more homely and natural side of his genius, as it comes out in such plays as The Loyal Subject, A Wife For A Month and The Mad Lover. This largely arose from the conventional way of looking at Beaumont and Fletcher and other joint-poets in the work going under their names. Beaumont, it was supposed, was the more serious spirit of the two, furnishing the warp and woof, the substance of the play, while to his partner was due the lyric lightness and grace, the sparkle of repartee and jest. But this view has been considerably moderated, so that at present Beaumont is being retired more into background, the part assigned to him being rather that of general construction and overseeing; while to Fletcher is given the action and treatment of character. The fact is that the indisputable plays of Fletcher, or the Fletcher parts of plays



written in conjunction with a fellow-dramatist, abound in scenes and passages of natural pathos and beauty. Keeping this characteristic in mind, and remembering that it is peculiarly lacking in Massinger, it follows that in in such a scene as Act III 2 in Barnavelt, which is attributed as a whole to Massinger by the tests indulged in, we are moved to see something un-Massinger-like in the lines beginning with the entrance of Ledenberg and his son in prison, and the innocent, sweet prattle of the boy, as he pleads to stay with his father:

P. 257

Vandort In the meantime, you are a prisoner,

Boy Who? My father?

Breden Yes, boy.

Boy, Then I will be a prisoner, too. For heaven's sake

Let me go with him, for these naughty men

Will ne'er wait on him well. I am used to undress  
him

When he's to go to bed, and then read to him

Until he be asleep, and then pray by him;

I will not leave him

Breden Why, thou shalt not, boy! go with thy father.



Boy            You are a good Lord,  
                   Indeed, I love you for't and will pray for you.  
                   Come, father: now I must go to, I care not.  
                   While I am with you, you shall have no hurt,  
                   I'll be your warrant.

Such talk as this in kind,- carries the mind back instinctively, to Hubert and the little Arthur of King John. Now this scene as a whole seems to be Massinger's, if the tests set up are to be trusted; but this particular part of the scene I take to be utterly unlike Massinger and quite like Fletcher; and this leads me up to the introduction of a theory, touched upon later when speaking of the construction of the play; namely, the idea that not unfrequently within the same scene both dramatists may be found working.

Another characteristic of Massinger, as often pointed out, in his fondness for judicial and court scenes, with the rhetoric and coloring suitable to such a picture. The balanced and rhetorical nature of his style, together with his gravity and weight, came into play in such a grouping and showed him at ease and at his best. Such scenes as III 2 and IV 5, then, with this mind, point strongly to Massinger. Parallel, his plays. or at least similar scenes, can be pointed out from other of



The impassioned monologues, as seen in Barnavelt in the Advocate's alternating gloom, distrust and consciousness of merit and past glory, a man, like Wolsey, "far beyond his depth" in the treacherous waters of favor and fickleness- these and such as these belong to Fletcher. Over against the lines (p. 210) beginning:

And shall I then

Now in the sun-set of my day of honour,  
may be set Wolsey's farewell speech in Henry VIII. Or again, the passage (p. 246) where Barnavelt retaliates on the courtiers who have accused him of disloyalty, which begins:

And must I bear this set down for all my service?  
may be illustrated by the following from The Loyal Subject (p. 944) where the soldier Archas cries:

Thou liest!

Now, by my little time of life, liest basely,

Maliciously and loudly,- how I scorn thee!

winding up, after 25 lines of fiery declamation, with the words:

Blush, coward knave, and all the world hiss at  
thee!

where the use of the imperative blush, used several times in Barnavelt in similar scenes, is worthy of especial notice.





Fletcher is at his height in such passages, and indeed he seems to have a strong liking for the treatment of the character of those high in power, with a suspicion of the vaulting ambition that o'er-leaps itself, and the subsequent downfall. But Fletcher's hand is just as distinguishable, as before hinted, by a brief example of that higher imaginative quality which is the precious thing about the Elizabethan poetry in its purity and at its happiest moments.- I illustrate from Fletcher's part of Barnavelt. The statesman Ledenberg, imprisoned and believed to be guilty of State treachery, has, at the instigation of Barnavelt, decided to rid himself of the trial and probable death-sentence by self-murder. He soliloquizes just prior to the act, and while his son is sleeping sweetly beside him:

P. 266

"Sleep on, sweet child, the whilst thy wretched  
father

Prepares him to the iron-sleep of death,

Or is death fabled out but terrible

To fright us from it? Or rather is there not

Some hid Hesperides, some blessed fruit

Moated about with death"



In the same scene, and as an example of Fletcher's tenderness, may be placed the following lines. Bodenbergh is still thinking of his boy, the leaving whom is the sorriest part of his own suicide

Sweet heart, farewell, farewell for ever,  
 When we get us children  
 We then do give our freedom up to fortune,  
 And lose that native courage we are born to.

"To die were nothing -simply to leave the light:  
 No more than going to our beds and sleeping;  
 But to leave all these dearnesses behind us,  
 These figures of ourselves that we call blessings,  
 Is that which troubles.- Can man beget a thing  
 That shall be dearer than himself unto him.-"

Both these passages are, quite out of Massinger's reach, even when he rises to his full potentiality.

As an example of Fletcher's splendid vituperative eloquence, one more quotation may be given: Vandort, who is one of the adherents of the Prince, has been begging Barnavelt to be more gentle and show less anger and rebellion toward Orange. Where-



upon Barnavelt replies:

- 1     When I am a sychophant
- 2     And a base gleaner from another's favour,
- 3     As all you are that halt upon his crutches,
- 4     Shame take that smoothness and that sleek subjec-  
tion!
- (1)
- 5     I am myself, as great in good as he is,
- 6     As much a master of my countrie's fortunes,
- 7     And one to whom (since I am forced to speak it,
- 8     Since mine own tongue must be my advocate)
- 9     This blinded State that plays at bo-peep with us,
- 10    This wanton State that's weary of her lovers
- 11    And cries out "Give me younger still and fresher!"
- 12    Is bound, and so far bound:    I found her naked,
- 13    Flung out adoors and starved, no friends to pity  
her,
- 14    The marks of all her miseries upon her,
- 15    An orphan State that no eye smiled upon;
- 16    And then how carefully I undertook her,
- 17    How tenderly and lovingly I nursed her!
- 18    But now she is fat and fair again and I fooled,

(1) It would appear that Mr. Bullen has punctuated this wrong, that the comma should be omitted after myself: perhaps it is a printer's error.



- 19 A new love in her arms, my dotings scorned at.  
 20 And I must sue to him! be witness heaven,  
 21 If this poor life were forfeit to his mercy,  
 22 At such a rate I hold a scorned subjection  
 23 I would not give a penny to redeem it.

Such lines as 9, 10 and 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 are the high-water mark of imaginative dramatic expression. But if one try to pick out passages from this play to best represent Massinger, we find ourselves driven to something which is admirable for its melody as a whole and its vigorous movement, rather than for such poetry or passion as just seen in the Fletcher parts. Perhaps he is at his best in the opening of this play (p. 210) where Barnavolt gives vent to his indignation at yielding supremacy to the Prince of Orange, after his own long years of service to the State:

And shall I then,

- 2 Now in the sun-set of my day of honor  
 3 When I should pass with glory to my rest  
 4 And raise my monument from my countrie's praises,  
 5 Sit down and with a boorish patience suffer  
 6 The harvest that I labored for to be  
 7 Another's spoil? the people's thanks and praises,





8 Which should make fair way for me to my grave,  
 9 To have another object? the choice fruits  
 10 Of my deep projects grace another's banquet?  
 11 No, this ungrateful Country, this base people,  
 12 Most base to my deserts, shall first with horror  
 13 Know he that could defeat the Spanish councils  
 14 And countermine their dark works, he that made  
 15 The State what 'tis, will change it once again  
 16 Ere fall with such dishonour.

And even here such a figure as that in the 2 line, awakens the suspicion that Fletcher tampered with (and improved) the passage.

Also (p. 212) Massinger makes Barnavelt break out again thus:

If I fall  
  
 I shall not be alone, for in my ruins  
 My enemies shall find their sepulchres,  
 Modesbargen, though in place you are my equal,  
 The fire of honour, which is dead in you,  
 Burns hotly in me, and I will preserve  
 Each glory I have got, with as much care  
 As I achieved it.

Massinger rarely gets so high as this and never that degree



higher which would bring him up to the atmosphere of Fletcher's speech above quoted.

The use of prose in Barnavelt is not uninteresting when considered in relation to the general work of Fletcher and Massinger. Fleay, in Transactions of New Shakespeare Society 1874, Part I p. 53, remarks that neither Fletcher nor Massinger make use of prose, and relies on this as one of the means to distinguish Beaumont's hand from theirs. When his assumption is combatted by the occurrence of prose in a scene unquestionably Massinger's or Fletcher's, he gets round the difficulty by claiming that in such a case the prose passage is "intercolated." We do not need Barnavelt to disprove such missing the mark as this; prose series are so common and of such a type in the Fletcher part of the Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger scenes, that we are almost warranted in saying that the painting genre pictures of Middle-class folk, in prose, was one of his leading characteristics. In Barnavelt, with the exception of a brief bit in IV 5, which is Massinger's, we have one scene only, and that Fletcher's, in which prose enters into the scheme of the action and setting. This is the executioners' scene (V, 2) and it is thoroughly Fletcherian, as elsewhere indicated, so that parallels can easily be pointed out from other plays.



In a later division of our treatment we referred to one such parallel (Philaster V 4) and others might be added ad libitum. Had Fleay said that Beaumont uses more prose than either Fletcher or Massinger, his statement would have been more in consonance with the facts.



III.THOUGHT.

It is apparent, that although the drama is the most unpersonal form of literature and unless we expect the Epic and Saga - general sentiments put into the mouths of the dramatic personages, may, if carefully studied, reveal considerable as to the cast of mind of the author and his position toward religion, politics and society. One of our authors -namely, Massinger- has so decided a tendency in one of these directions -that of Politics- that it can plainly be traced throughout his plays. (1) Indeed, a distinguished writer has made the frequency of Massinger's political allusions, and the fondness which he exhibits for political situations, the subject of an interesting paper. Before Prof. Gardiner, this characteristic of the dramatist has been pointed out by several writers; (2) but in this article more careful attention is paid to the question, and five plays are quoted from to show that, in the words of the writer; "In many of Massinger's plays we have a treatment of the politics of the day so plain and transparent that any one who possesses only a slight acquaintance with the history of the reigns of the first two Stuarts can read it at a glance."

- (1) Prof. Gardiner, Transactions Shakespeare Society 1875-1876, vol. II.
- (2) Ward- History of Dramatic Lit. Dr. Ireland, Massinger (1845) p. 119 Gifford, Massinger p. 121 and 227-228.





In another place he remarks that Massinger treats of the events of his time in England, though presumably referring to other countries and periods, with no more disguise than that seen in the cartoons of Punch. Such statements, and the proofs adduced, coming from an able historian, set up the presumption that this peculiarity of Massinger is to be looked for -even if not found- in Barnavelt in those parts which the previous examination and evidence has pointed to as his, Massinger, as has been often remarked, was a Whig in politics, and while we can not agree with Hartley Coleridge in stigmatizing his views as "Captious Whiggery," it is nevertheless true that Fletcher was a stiff Royalist as compared with Massinger. With regard of the latter (1) to the position in this respect, we hold a recent editor to be right in combatting Coleridge's opinion that both Beaumont and Fletcher are, in their joint plays, "servile jure divino Royalists." A citation of passages from the plays themselves -notably The Maid's Tragedy, where a king is handled with ungloved hands- easily disproves such a vigorous statement. However, Massinger, as an adherent of the Huberts, was unquestionably a Whig and a follower of the Opposition Party.

Now in Mr. Bullen's notes on the M3. changes of the

(1) J. S. L. Strachey, Beaumont and Fletcher, Mermaid Series, 1887.



play Barnavelt, there are indications that this work of Massinger's furnishes additional proof of this habit of the playwright. We refer to the corrections or eliminations made by Sir Geo. Buc, then master of the Revels, whose business it therefore was to see that nothing objectionable crept into the play.- And it is significant that these changes or erasures fall in those scenes which we have found to be Massinger's.- On p. 218 lines 9 and 10 in Bullen's Edition run:

Against the now unequal opposition

Of this Prince that contemns us,

the reference being to Orange. Mr. Bullen tells us that the line at first ran:

Of this proud Prince of Orange.

It is hard to see why such a change should be made from any other reason save that of the desire not to apply the epithet proud to a royal person. As literature, the line as written would have been preferable.

Again, p. 291, we have the passage:

The proclamations are allowed by you

Sent forth against the Protestants: and here

Your resolution to degrade my brother

And then dispose of him as you thought fit.



Here the MS. is marked to omit this speech: and surely because of the fear that an application might be made of it to the state of affairs in England. And on the next page (292) the following twelve lines are crossed through in the MS:

- 1 Octavius, when he did affect the Empire
- 2 And strove to tread upon the neck of Rome
- 3 And all her ancient freedoms, too that course
- 4 That now is practised on you: for the Catos
- 5 And all free spirits slain or else proscribed
- 6 That durst have stirred against him, he then seized
- 7 The absolute rule of all. You can apply this;
- 8 And here I prophesy, I, that have lived
- 9 And die a free man, shall when I am ashes
- 10 Be sensible of your groans and wishes for me:
- 11 And when too late you see this Government
- 12 Changed to a Monarchy you'll howl in vain.

Furthermore, the words; lines 3-4 "took that course that now is practised on you," is changed in the MS. to "cut off his opposites;" "You can apply this," line 7, is crossed through; "to a monarchy" is corrected to read "to another form."

Surely we may see here that Massinger is making not much-disguised allusion to his own country: to trace the parallel sug-



gested is a delicate and dangerous task, but that the reason for the elimination and change of the lines is that indicated- which is the point I wish to make- can hardly be denied.

Doubtless Prof. Gardiner would find Barnavelt additional evidence to this characteristic of Massinger which he has illustrated from other sources.-

I now proceed to give passages from Barnavelt showing the political attitude of the playwright, as well as any which are analogous in thought to what occurs elsewhere.

Massinger's Part. Act II, 1.

P. 231

I know you love the valiant Prince, and yet  
 You must grant him a servant to the States  
 As you are, Gentlemen, and therefore will not  
 Defend that in him which you would not cherish  
 In cold blood in yourselves.

<sup>a</sup>  
 This is decidedly Whig utterance.

P. 232

I perceive 'tis true  
 That such as flatter servants make them proud.





As parallel in thought may be given:

The Guardian III, 2, 55

I've made my slave my mistress.

The Renegade II 1

What poor means must I make use of now  
And flatter such, to whom, till I betrayed my liberty  
One gracious look of mine would have erected  
An altar to my service-

Act III 2.

P. 253

Such mild proceedings in a government  
New-settled, whose main strength had its dependence  
Upon the power of some particular men,  
Might be given way to, but in ours it were  
Unsafe and scandalous.

The Virgin Martyr I, 1. 236.

In all growing Empires,  
Even cruelty is useful: Some must suffer,  
And be set up examples to strike terror  
In others, though far off: but when a State



Is raised to her perfection, and her bases  
 Too firm to shrink, or yield, we may use mercy,  
 And do't with safety.

Here the same line of thought is used for an exactly opposite argument.

Act IV 5.

P. 288

Let it not me  
 Be now held glorious if I speak my best

The Fair Maid Of Inn I, 2

Let it not taste of arrogance that I say it.

Act V 1.

P. 298

Ever remembering that the greatest Princes  
 Have sometimes to their glory been most apt  
 To pardon what was enterprized against  
 Their governments, nay their lives: and that the freest  
 And the best commonwealths, have always used  
 To spare the blood of their own citizens,  
 And that in great offenders- it still being



The principal sign of liberty and freedom  
 Not easily, but with mature advice  
 To touch the lives of citizens.-

The tenor of this speech, in its suggestion as to the proper course of the ruler towards accused subjects, is suited to Massinger and not to Fletcher.-

P. 302 The same remark applies to the following:

And all that plot against the general good,  
 Learn from this man's example, great in age,  
 Greater in wealth and in authority,  
 But matchless in his worldly policy,  
 That there is one above that does deride  
 The wisest councils that are misapplied.

Fletcher would have said that Barnavelt's fall showed the foolishness of striving against the Prince of Orange: not so Massinger; he refers it to a power above all earthly potentates.-

Fletcher's Part. Act I, 3.

P. 223-224 Orange's speech here chimes in well with Fletcher's reverence for authority vested in Princes and Kings.  
 Compare with this The Maid's Tragedy (p. 31, Mermaid Edition),



where Amintor, on being told by his new wife, Evadne, that he may not enjoy her because she is the King's mistress, yields to the horrible circumstance in the following words:

Evadne      Why, 'tis the King!

Amintor    Oh, thou hast named a word that wipes away  
               All thoughts revengeful! In that sacred word,  
               "The King," there lies a terror: what frail man  
 Dares lift his hand against it? Let the Gods  
 Speak to him when they please: till when let us  
               Suffer and wait.

Act II 2.

P. 236

Can they do anything,  
 Can they defy the Prince?

There is an implication here of the divinity that hedges Kings.

Act II 6.

P. 241

Now where's your valours,  
               You that would eat the Prince?





Again the inability of the subject against a princely person comes out.

Act III 1.

The opening of this scene, in the speeches of Breden and Vandort, show the Royalist spirit.

P. 247

The Emperor Trajan, challenging a young man  
And a swift runner, to try his speed against him,  
The gentleman made answer suddenly  
It was not safe nor fit to hold contention  
With any man commanded 30 legions.-

Again the idea of the unassailable nature of the King.-

Act III 4.

P. 259

Like a comet  
To shine out fair and blaze prodigiously.

The Virgin Martyr II, 3, 110.

From such a star  
Blazing with fires of hate, what can be looked  
for



But tragical events.

The reference in both cases is probably to the comet of 1618-1619.

Act IV 3.

P. 280

A wise man spins his own fate and secures it

Rouduca V 2

His mischiefs lessen, that controls his ill

Act V, 3.

P. 314

He that would purge ambition that way dies,

Compare the familiar line of Wolsev's vale:

Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition

It may be seen that parallels to Fletcher's work in Barnavel are not to be found so frequently as are those of Massinger; this is due to the fact that while the latter is remarkable for his repetitions, as has been seen, Fletcher is to be discovered rather by the general color, form and atmosphere of his passages, although he rides particular words -as the much-used farewell- with a gusto not to be exceeded by Massinger himself.



It is to be remarked that the woman-element in Barnavelt is almost entirely lacking. There is an occasional glimpse into the Advocate's home-life, but in these scenes his wife and daughter are lay-figures, with very little individuality and no attempt at character-treatment and development. Thus, with the addition of the horse-play of the Dutch and English gentlewomen which is in Fletcher's well-known manner, is the only reproduction of the feminine atmosphere in the play. In other words, there is no real living woman character in Barnavelt. This is to be regretted, so far as the placing of the play is concerned, as the female characters of Massinger possess certain well-marked features, and a study of the sentiments put in their mouth by him would have been interesting and probably corroborative in showing his hand.-



#### IV. CHARACTER-TREATMENT AND CONSTRUCTION.

I come now to the more subtle question of the treatment of character, the organic development of individuality in the plays; together with the closely-connected question<sup>of the construction</sup> of the play, as a thing having a beginning and end, with well-articulated vertebrae.- Perhaps one may find a difference of treatment, of conception, contradictions and seeming inconsistencies, in those parts of the drama which have, it is hoped, been shown to belong, in all probability, to Fletcher and Massinger respectively. Naturally, the chief interest centres around the leonine and splendid character of Barnavelt and to him may be given the first and most detailed attention. It should be said, by way of preface, that the conception of the Advocate's character as portrayed in the play, was that of the times and quite unjust and misleading when compared to our present knowledge of the Dutch Statesman. The opinion of the dramatist's was based on three tracts, of the time in which Barnavelt is painted in far blacker colors than he deserves when seen in the clearer light of later investigation. (2) Motley has said the final word and given the world a masterly monument in his book on this great figure of the 17th century, and in his pages is





seen how far the English writers, following the prevalent opinion of their day, misconstrued of the character and life of this noble man. I shall point out, when necessary, in going on to analyze the figure as set forth by Massinger and Fletcher, wherein they were wrong: but the principal object should be to find, if possible, at what points the two playwrights were at (1) variance in their treatment. Boyle, is pronounced in the opinion that Fletcher spoiled Massinger's finer conception of Barnavelt making him "whine like Buckingham in Henry VIII." Referring to the final scene of the execution, he remarks; "this moral collapse in the face of death of the two characters is significant. Massinger would have carried out the scene in quite another tone. This criticism, is wide of the mark. In the first place, it is common criticism that Massinger is woefully deficient in the consistent development of his characters, Hallam going so far as to call them lusus naturae. Again, it is extremely harsh language to apply to Buckingham when he is said to whine in scene (Henry VIII II 1) where he makes his final appearance in the play and in the world. A candid reading of the scene would pronounce his words and carriage to be sad but dignified, self-respectful and now and

(1) Vol. II Appendix II p. 439.



then even nobly defiant (witness lines 58-68). And even if this were a just characterization of Buckingham, it is hard to see how it applies to Barnavelt, who shows on the scaffold perfect fearlessness- a proud sense of his own worth and of the great injustice of his sentence and of the trial that led up to it- all of which is historically correct. It is almost incredible that Boyle should have made this statement with the two plays well in mind. For example, does the following from Barnavelt deserve the term "whining"?

P. 312

Barnavelt I die for saving this unhappy Country.

Lord Play not with heaven.

Barnavelt My game's as sure as yours is,

And with more care and innocence I play it.

(To the executioner) Take off my doublet; and I prithee,  
fellow,

Strike without fear.

In the speech that follows, wherein Barnavelt commends the Prince, his enemy, and prays that he may be prosperous, there speaks not a criminal, whiningly mollifying the power that has

(1) Vide Motlev. Bk. II Chap. XXI.



struck him down, but rather the patriot who at all odds would have the country he has lived for, loved and is about to die for, come out of its present peril and be guided into good days, even though the hand at the helm be that of an avoided enemy. It is strange misinterpretation to designate such an attitude as whining, or to fail to mark the essential nobility of such a last position. Mr Bullen falls into no such error of criticism, but it is unfortunate that he did not express some opinion on the matter in his preface to the play. I now turn directly to the development of Barnavelt's character, as seen in the Massinger and Fletcher parts of the drama.- It is natural to begin with Massinger, his part thereby taking precedence in the examination inasmuch as he opens the play (which, as Bullen notes, is a common thing with him) and hence furnishes a type to the character as it is afterwards developed in the later scenes.

### I.1. Massinger.

In this scene we are presented with Barnavelt as a plainly ambitious, irascible, fair-minded but jealous Statesman. There is something significant in the very first line of the play, which runs as follows:

The Prince of Orange now, all names are lost else!



in which the exclamatory nature of the words gives the key-note to the whole scene. The fellow-statesmen try to moderate Bar-navelt's vehemence and galling sense of his treatment as an inferior to the Prince, but are impatiently shaken off. Bar-navelt's sense of justice comes out in the lines:

The labor in themes of policy I have trod  
 To find the clew of safety, for my Country  
 Required a head more knowing and a courage  
 As bold as his -though I must say 'tis great

The italicised line is a concession showing a rare fair-mindedness, considering the irritation of the speaker. Honour, on its objective side, is evidently a petich with the Advocate. Thus he says:

- 1 The fire of honour, which is dead in you,
- 2 Burns hotly in me, and I will persevere
- 3 Each glory I have got, with as much care
- 4 As I achieved it. Read but o'er the stones
- 5 Of men most famed for courage or for counsel,
- 6 And you shall find that the desire of glory
- 7 Was the last frailty wise men e'er put off.
- 8 Be they my precedents.

A curious printer's mistake may be mentioned in connection with





this passage, which mislead no less a scholar and critic than the poet Swinburne. Between lines 6 and 7 as marked in our quotation, occurs in Bullen's Edition the line:

That last infirmity of noble minds.

This startling appearance of Milton's famous utterance, nearly 20 years before Lycidas was written, at once drew the attention of Swinburne who, in the Atterbury<sup>a</sup>, went into a discussion of the explanation of such a remarkable parallel. This called out a reply, in the same publication, from Mr. Bullen, who states that he wrote the Milton line on the margin of the MS., from which it was inserted into the body of the page by the printer. As this edition of Old Plays is not of a kind likely to run into a second edition, owners of the set should strike out the line in question from their copies.

Continuing the scene: On the entrance of the two Captains, Barnavel is portrayed as a stern master over the soldiery and distinctly feared by them.

1st Captain      Why, you dare charge a foe's head of his  
troop,  
And shake you to deliver a petition  
To a statesman and a friend?



2d Captain        I need not seek him,  
                       He has found me; and as I am a soldier,  
                       His walking toward me is more terrible  
                       Than any enemies march I ever met with.

The 2d Captain's misdemeanor is that of railing against the  
 Commissary and Barnavelt puts his dereliction to him in the  
 this imperious way:

Barnavelt                You are he  
                       That when your Company was viewed and checked  
                       For your dead pays, stood on your terms of honor,  
                       Cried out, "I am a Gentleman, a Commander,  
                       And shall I be curbed by my Lords the States"  
                       (For thus you said in scorn) "that are but Merchants  
                       Lawyers, Apothecaries and Physicians,  
                       Perhaps of worser rank?" But you shall know, Sir  
                       They are not such, but Potentates and Princes  
                       From whom you take your pay.-

The offending officer tries to plead off:

2d Captain        I beseech your Lordship:  
                       'Twas wine and anger.

But the Advocate is inexorable:



Barnavelt

No, Sir: want of duty:

But I will make that tongue give him the lie

That said so, drunk or sober: take my word for't.

(1)

Your company is cast; you had best complain

To your Great General, and see if he

Can of himself maintain you.

There is in such a spirit little that is conciliatory, or likely to beget love in underlings towards him who spoke them.

We emphasize this, because Fletcher's representation of the relation between Barnavelt and other soldiery employed to carry

out his plans, is different. Thus in III 1, p. 250 which is

(2)

by Fletcher, Barnavelt in one of his characteristic outbursts against his country and the way she has rewarded his many services, says:

The valiant soldier,

Whose eyes are unacquainted but with anger,

Shall weep for me because I fed and nursed him.

(2)

Boyle has pointed out the discrepancy, and the point seems to be well-taken.

(1) i. e. discharged; a common word with the Elizabethan dramatist: Nares Glossary.

(2) Old Plays,

vol. II Appendix IX II p. 438.



Act I. 2. Massinger.

In this scene we have the great leader in council with his compeers who are as yet friends and staunch to him and his position. The same spirit of intolerance against the curtailment of his power and the implied inferiority of himself and his colleagues to the Prince, breathes through all. He reveals plans which shall further his Party and avows his partizanship for the Arminian Sect. The feeling of hate and impatience toward those opposing him, comes out in this:

Barnavelt            'Tis known I favor you, and that hath drawn  
Libels against me; but the stingless hate  
Of those that write them I contemn.-

Sentiments which are fostered by the Lords in waiting:

Hogeboets            They are worthy  
Of nothing but contempt.

Modesbargen, who is portrayed throughout the play as a blunt, honest and unflattering councillor, throws in a precaution as follows:

Modesbargen        Yet let me tell you, where Religion  
Is made a cloak to our bad purposes  
They seldom have success.





In reply to which, Barnavelt vents a thoroughly utilitarian doctrine, of which the burden is: we must take the world as it is and, our object being good, gain it by any course: the end justifies the means.

Barnavelt      You are too holy:

We live not now with saints but wicked men,  
And any thriving way we may make use of,  
That shape soe'er it wears, to cross their arts,  
We must embrace and cherish: and this course  
(Carrying a zealous face) will countenance  
Our other actions.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this grossly misrepresents the Statesman as he is seen to-day in the pages of Motley- Other of the chiefs of the State enter and one of them suggests naturally enough, that they call in the Prince to take part in their councils.

Breden      The Prince is wanting, and this meeting being  
Touching the oath he is to take, 'twere fit  
That we attend him.

At this Barnavelt breaks out, as so often, and expresses his contempt of the Policy which dictates a slavish obedience to Orange.



Barnavelt      That he may set down  
 What he will swear, prescribing limits to us!  
 We need not add this wind by our observance  
 To sails too full already.    Oh, my Lords,  
 What will you do?    Have we with so much blood  
 Maintained our liberties, left the allegiance- - -  
 To Spain, to offer up our slavish necks  
 To one that only is what we have made him?  
 For, be but you Yourselfs, this Prince of Orange  
 Is but as Barnavelt, a servant to  
 Your Lordships and the State: like me maintained:  
 The pomp he keeps, at your charge.

And a moment later, he goes on:

Barnavelt      Make him know  
 That on limb of this our reverend Senate  
 In power is not beneath him.

and suggests, as a practical application of this feeling, that  
 the Court officers command the Prince not to intrude on them  
 until they see fit to communicate with him-    And Barnavelt's  
 open hostility comes out in his last words in the scene;

Barnavelt      In this disgrace I have one foot on his neck



Ere long I'll set the other on his head

And sink him to the center.-

Massinger now, in these two opening scenes, strikes the key-note for the treatment of Barnavelt's character: the great leader is clearly limned before us as haughty, impatient of opposition and subordination in his official position, ambitious even to the using of base, or at least doubtful, means to gain his goal, and withal frank, not unjust and with an undertone indicating a sense of the right of his cause- In the next scene Fletcher takes the development up and he must be closely watched to see if he is consistent with the central figure as set up by Massinger.

#### Act I 3 Fletcher.

In the opening, the Prince is surrounded by his friends and his constant lovers, the soldiers: he is refused entrance to the council chamber and his natural indignation at the proceeding is portrayed. The loyalty and love of the Soldier is given as well as anywhere in the speech of the Colonel:

Colonel    So far to dare provoke ye! 'tis too monstrous;  
               And you forget yourself, your birth, your honor,  
               The name of soldier if you suffer this,  
               Suffer from these, these things, these -pot upon't!



These molds of men made noble by your services  
Your daily sweats - -

Orange, however, calmly quiets this indignation by a temperate and noble speech, and then Barnavelt with his adherents the Laws of the State enters. The Prince at once asks for an explanation of the, to him, strange treatment he has received, and Barnavelt vouchsafes reply in a haughty line:

Barnavelt Your Grace must know we cannot wait attendance  
Which happily you looked for,

Notice the peremptory must and cannot used by the Statesman.

Orange Wait, my lords!

Barnavelt

- 1 Nor what we shall design for the State's comfort
- 2 Stay your deliberate crosses we know you are able,
- 3 And every way a wise Prince fit for counsel.
- 4 But I must tell ye, Sir, and tell ye truly,
- 5 The Soldier has so blown ye up, so swelled ye
- 6 And those few services you call your own,
- 7 That now our commendations are too light gales,
- 8 - - - And trumpets of your own tongue and the  
Soldiers





Now only fill your sails.-

This is haughtiness, bordering on insolence -as in the contemptuous 6th line- and the tone is bitter throughout; it has a frankness, at least, which is refreshing, nor do these qualities lessen in Barnavelt's next speech:

Barnavelt

- 1 We mix with quiet spirits, staid and temperate,
- 2 And those that level not at great but good ends
- 3 Dare hold us their Companions, not their servants
- 4 And in that rank be ready to supply us.
- 5 Your Grace is grown too haughty

The last line (5th) is direct and plain enough to be taken as an avowal of policy and enmity. And the whole quotation might be called an unconscious satire on Barnavelt himself; for, surely, he is as far removed from staidness and temperance as a man could well be, while His Grace might have termed the imputation of haughtiness against the speaker. Orange sees this, and in his reply tells Barnavelt that the pride and insolence he accuses him of are near akin to his Lordship- Barnavelt answers contemptuously again:

Barnavelt

You are too weak 'i the hams, Sir

Not strong enough, that is, to bring charges



Which should imperil his position, as the  
Prince implies-

Orange goes on to ask, with a rising indignation what Barnavelt can say to the accusation that he has raised the Arminian Sect, and stirred up rebellion in the States- And again Barnavelt is imperiously contemptuous.

Barnavelt      Your Grace has leave, Sir,  
                  (i. e. to rail on me thus)  
                  And 'tis right good it be so-  
                  (i. e. you can't harm me, talk on)  
                  Follow me home (to the Lords)  
                  And there I'll give you new directions  
                  How to proceed, and suddenly-

Ledenberg (        
                  (        
Modesbargen (      We are yours, Sir.

Barnavelt makes his exit, and the Lords Breden and Vandort, who favor the Prince, comment on the increasing high-handedness and insolence of Barnavelt and lay plans to upset his doings: the scene then closes.

If there be anything superadded in this scene to the nature of the Advocate, as exhibited in the preceding Massinger scenes, we should find it in the insolent tone which creeps



into Barnavelt's attitude toward the Prince, his rival. Hitherto, an indignation, more or less righteous, seems to be the spring of thought and action: we feel this in his outbursts and in his plans for the future. But in the Fletcher scene, a cool, calculated contempt and an implication of his own importance creeps in. To be sure, we have not before this had the two enemies face to face and so have no perfect parallel as to the method of treatment by the dramatists: but in spite of this, the atmosphere is somewhat different. In the Massinger scenes our sympathies are with Barnavelt: in Fletcher's work the Prince cuts the better figure beyond doubt and hence our sympathies are divided, if not even a bit alienated.- This is worthy of notice.-

Massinger- Act II, 1.

In the second Act things go badly with Barnavelt and we find him holding a conference with his followers, and acknowledging to them that their plots are discovered. But he is courageous, assures them that all will yet be well, if they stand firm and follow his advice, which is then unfolded. Another touch of his utilitarian policy as seen in these lines:

Barnavelt            But have you tried by any means (it skills not



How much you promise) to win the old soldiers,  
 (The English Companies, in chief, I aim at)  
 To stand firm for us?

The first parenthesis, here, is a plain confession of unscrupulousness of method. And next, when the soldiery are brought in to testify as to their efforts to bring about the above-stated object, there is a gleam of honesty in the remark of Barnavelt after the Captain has set forth his objections to doing what is demanded and his opinion of the injustice of the treatment of the soldier in general. Barnavelt remarks as an apparent aside:

Barnavelt This is shrewdly urged.

The love of the Soldier for the Prince comes out again in the Lieutenant's vehement protest when Ledenberg implies disloyalty on the part of Orange

Ledenberg For should he be disloyal-

Lieutenant He disloyal! 'tis a language

I will not hear

Ed. Captain Such a suspicion of him

In one that wore a sword deserved the lie.--





Such unseemly language to a man high in power indicates the state of feeling of the speakers- These sturdy men show the intention of remaining true to the Prince and nothing at nought the commands of Ledenberg: whereupon Barnavelt is roused to passion:

Barnavelt

Oh, I am lost with anger! are we fallen  
So low from what we were, that we dare hear  
This from our servants and not punish it?  
Where is the terror of our names, or power  
That Spain with fear hath felt in both his  
Indies?

We are lost for forever, or from freeman  
grown

Slaves so contemptible as no worthy Prince  
That would have men, not sluggish beasts, his ser-  
vants.

Would e'er vouchsafe the owning.

This seems an honest burst, inspired by shame that they have not demanded a liberty due and dear to right-feeling patriots: and the rest of the speech reads like the unselfishness of a true statesman working alone for the good of his country:



Now my, heads,

I call not on your furtherance to preserve  
 The lustre of my actions: let me with them  
 Be here remembered, so this government,  
 Your wives, your lives and liberties be safe;  
 And therefore, as you would be what you are,  
 Freeman and monsters of what yet is yours,  
 Rise up against this Tyrant, and defend  
 With rigor what too gentle lenity  
 Hath almost lost.

Here Barnavelt's personal ambition, so avowed in the opening act of the play, seems to be swallowed up in the love for Country and the impersonal appeal of pending danger- The Prince is attacked as a tyrant, rather than as a personal enemy. The closing couplet of the scene has, perhaps, more of the personal element in it:

Barnavelt            And let this Prince of Orange seat him sure,  
                          Or he shall fall when he is most secure-

Summing the scene, then, we should say that Barnavelt as the Statesman, faulty perhaps but honest, is put before our eyes, rather than Barnavelt the enemy of the Prince in his personal capacity: Fletcher's treatment implies more individualistic motive



Fletcher. Act III, 1.

Before Barnavelt enters in this scene, we have his previous character painted by Breden and Vandort, both adherents of the Prince and so mere cold and critical toward himself. But they can find in their tongue only commendation:

Vandort But that a man so wise as Mon. Barnavelt,  
 So trusted, so rewarded for his service,  
And one that built the ladder to his honor  
 Of open, honest actions, strong and straight still  
 Should now be doubted! - - - -

(The italics are own,)

Breden But that a man of his great trust and business  
 Should sink or suffer under doubts  
 Or loose his honor by another's envy,  
 Is not faire play nor honest.-

This important testimony, coming from those avowedly in opposition to the Advocate indicates Fletcher's view on the subject. If we quote the remainder of Breden's speech we notice a carelessness in the treatment of character which at first seems hard to explain:

The Prince of Orange,  
 Most think affects him not, nor he the Prince.



Now if we turn back to I, 3, which is also Fletcher's and recall the situation, we will find that both Vandort and Breden were present at the scene between the Prince and Barnavelt- where their hostility was only too apparent and where, after the exit of Barnavelt Orange remarks to them:

My Lords, to what a monster this man's grown

You may (if not abused with dull security)

See plain as day.

Such looseness as this can, in our opinion, only be explained by keeping two facts in mind: First, that this play, like many of the joint plays of the time, was hastily wrought for the practical purpose of being presented while the facts it illustrated were still strictly contemporaneous, and that hence small attention comparatively was paid to detail and coherence of development in the minor characters: and secured, that in plays of collaboration there is always the possibility, if not probability, of the changing of the conception of one of the co-laborers by the other. Boyle, in an article on Beaumont, (1)

Fletcher and Massinger hints at this when, in giving one of the tests whereby to distinguish Massinger's work, he says: "The coincidence of metre is accompanied by a similarity

(1) Englische Studien 10 p. 411.





between the characterization - - - (in so far as the Massinger types have not been changed by his fellow-dramatist)." I have little doubt such might be the case with Barnavelt.

To go on with the analysis: Barnavelt enters, with his son and asks with a swelling eloquence, why it is that he is so slighted by their Lordships. The scene from this point to the end is one of the finest in the play and it is so because of the impassioned rhetoric which Fletcher puts into the mouth of the chief speaker- We get here, what we do not get in any Massinger scene in the play, the tender, so well as the indignant, side of Barnavelt's feeling towards his country and the manner in which she retaliates, in accusing him of treason. Throughout there is a proud avowal of the purity of his action and his motives, a keen grief that they are not appreciated, and a fiery scorn and defiance of the Prince of Orange. This attitude and feeling is in marked contrast to that of Massinger in the opening scene of the play, where personal ambition was frankly lauded (p. 213) or in the next scene where steady plans of reaching it are as frankly advocated (p. 215). The conception is evidently quite different. Fletcher, indeed, cannot depict a statesman gone wrong or fallen in evil days without breathing an atmosphere of tenderness into his position. Witness Wolsey and Buckingham.



As an example of what is meant, take the following excerpt from one of Barnavelt's splendid arrangements of the State, before quoted in another connection:

I found her naked,  
 Flung out adooors and starved, no friends to pity her  
 The marks of all her miseries upon her,  
 An orphan State that no eye smiled upon.  
 And then how carefully I undertook her,  
 How tenderly and lovingly I nursed her!  
 But now she is fat and fair again and I fooled,  
 A new love in her arms, my doatings scorned at.

This poetic personalization of the State is quite removed from Massinger's direct less imaginative referring to Barnavelt's country and countrymen before quoted in Act II, 1, (p. 233). Again Barnavelt's sense of his own integrity comes out in the fine lines:

I have lived ever free, only depended  
 Upon the honesty of my fair actions.

and,

I never knew to flatter, to kneel basely  
 And beg from him a smile owes me an honor.



His scorn and hate for the Prince is seen:

Barnavelt            I seek the Prince or bend in base submission!  
                          I'll seek my grave first.

and in the concluding lines again crops up the tender-grieved feeling for his Country:

And this unthankful  
 Forgetful Country, when I sleep in ashes,  
 Shall feel and then confess I was a father

This scene then is contra-distinguished from anything of Massinger that we have yet had, in its impassioned tenderness of feeling evinced by Barnavelt towards his Country and the poetic presentation of the same.

Act III, 4. Fletcher.

In this scene Barnavelt is shown on a far less admirable side of his character, in short as one gaining his ends by luring a friend -or friendly tool- to kill himself, and using fine eloquence to produce this result. He also does not scruple to tell a lie, to assure Ledenberg that he too will join him in a self-imposed death, rather than lose his honor on the scaffold- There are, of course, two ways of looking at such a discrepancy in character-treatment as is shown by Fletcher in this



scene and the one just before discussed. It may be said that the dramatist is perfectly consistent in presenting a man who had the interest of his country really at heart in one place and felt proportionably agrieved at being doubted, and in another place, the wily politician striving to induce a dangerous man- albeit his friend- to make way with himself in order to thus secure his own safety and finally to have again the power to do for the State as he believed was best. It is again the question of the end justifying the means. The other hypothesis is, that the dramatist, as before hinted, took not the pains to be consistent and was not working for organic development in the character of Barnavelt so much as to make him dramatically effective in any given scene. The following soliloquy points to a consciousness of politic courses and even ends on the part of Barnavelt:

Now Barnavelt, then treadst the subtlest path,  
 The hardest and thorniest, most concerns thee,  
 That ere thy careful course of life run through;  
 The master piece is now afoot, which if it speed,  
 And take but that sure hold I aim it at,  
 I make no doubt but once more, like a comet,  
 To shine out fair and blaze prodigiously  
 Even to the ruin of those men that hate me.





This sounds like Richard III and is hard to reconcile with the preceding scene; in fact we incline to the theory of the carelessness of treatment. Prof. Dowden, in some remarks in Henry VIII quotes Mr. Spedding as follows: "I should conjecture that Shakespeare had conceived the idea of a great historical drama on the subject of Henry VIII, which would have included the divorce of Katherine, the fall of Wolsey, the rise of Cranmer, the coronation of Anne Bullen, and the final separation of the English from the Romish Church, which being the one great historical event of the reign, would naturally be chosen as the focus of poetic interest: That he had proceeded in this idea as far, perhaps, as the third act - - - - - when finding that his fellows of the Globe were in distress for a new play to honor the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with, he thought that his half finished work might help them, and accordingly handed them his manuscript to make what they could of it." The line italicised indicates the opinion of Mr. Spedding and Prof. Dowden as to the loose methods then holding in regard to dramatic production. In other words, Fletcher, to whom this particular play was intrusted, had practical carte blanche to do with it whatever his will and judgment dictated. If this liberty be applied to Barnavelt inconsistencies like the above in the handling of the Advocate's character by the same man, may be ex-



plained in what is to me the only satisfactory explanation.--

Act IV, 3. Fletcher.

This scene, one of the most effective in the play, shows with the true Fletcherian touch, Barnavelt on his more private and domestic side, thereby affording opportunity for display of that tenderness which has already been pointed out as characteristic of Fletcher's treatment of the central figure of the play. Barnavelt is discovered alone in his study, recalling in a dreamy fashion his past honours and favors, by reading over letters, dispatches, treaties and the like, from and with the great potentates and powers of his age.

Barnavelt

This from the King of France, of much importance,

And this from England's Queen, both mighty Princes,

And of immortal memories: here the rewards set,

They loved me both. The King of Swechland this,

About a truce; his bounty, too. What's this?

From the Elector Palatine of Brandenburge,

To do him fair and acceptable offices;

I did so; a rich jewel and a chain he sent me



The Count of Solesms, and this from his fair Countess  
About commencing of a business:

I did it and I had their thanks. Count Benthem,  
The Archbishop of Cullen, Duke of Brunswick,  
Grave Embden, these from Cities, these from Prov-  
ences;

Petitions these; this from the States for places.

Thus musing over the greatness of his correspondences in the  
past, he is naturally led to the wondering thought, if one so  
high and so trusted can now be despised and left without suc-  
cour in his day of stress.

Have I held correspondence with these Princes,  
And had their loves, the making of their business,  
Trusted with their most secret purposes,  
Of every State acquainted with the mysteries,  
And must I stick here now, stick unrelieved too?  
Must all these glories vanish into darkness,  
And Barnavelt pass with 'em and glide away  
Like a spent exhalation?

Then he adds, pathetically enough:

I cannot hold:

I am crackt too deep already, what have I done



I cannot answer? Fool! remember not  
 Fame has too many eyes and ears to find thee!  
 What help, O miserable man? none left thee,  
 What constant friends? 'tis now a crime to know thee.

Mr. Boyle would, perhaps, cite this as an example of the way Fletcher has belittled the character of Barnavelt and made him here, as elsewhere (on the gallows especially) to whine rather than bear the slings and arrows of fortune with Stoic endurance. But, this rather, is a natural revelation of the human-weak if you will- side of his character, when, alone and unaroused by the immediate presence of enemies and danger, he gives way to natural doubt and almost despair, a despair which is in a moment changed to light-heartedness to his normal state, by a gleam of hope given him by the announcement of the death ~~of the death~~ of Ledenburg. In short, this scene arouses the feeling that Barnavelt is a man and not a type, and so warms us up to him amazingly, while at the same time it does not at all militate against the conception of him as essentially a brave, intrepid spirit.- I would that this humanly-warm treatment of characters is one of Fletcher's chief charms and chief claims to being a revealer of human life - Such a play as The Loyal Subject well exemplifies the same thing.-





A servant enters to announce that the Statesman's wife awaits him at supper: and then follows a powerfully pathetic incident. For the Advocate, dazed by his grief, is represented as suffering from temporary dementia, at first hardly realizing his own underling but taking him for an officer of justice and later wandering in his conversation with his daughter, who joins her entreaties to that of the servant.

Servant            My Lady would entreat, Sir-

Barnavelt        My head?    What art thou?    From whom sent?

Servant            Heaven bless me!

Barnavelt        Are they so greedy of my blood? Oh, pardon me:

I know thee now; thou art my honest servant.

What would thy lady?

Servant            Your company to supper, Sir - - - - -

Enter daughter

Daughter        Sir, will it please ye-

Barnavelt        Ha!

Daughter        Will it please ye, Sir-

Barnavelt        Please me! what please me? that I send thee  
Girl,

To some of my great Masters to beg for me,

Didst thou mean so?



Daughter

I mean, Sir-

Barnavelt

Thou art too charitable

To prostitute thy beauty to relieve me:

With thy soft kisses to redeem from fetters

The stubborn fortune of they wretched father.

Daughter

I understand thee not

Barnavelt

I hope thou dost not

Daughter

My lady mother, Sir-

Barnavelt

Prithee, good girl,

Be not so cruel to thy aged father

To sum up all his miseries before him,

Daughter

I am come, Sir, to entreat your company,

Barnavelt

I am not alone

(i. e. I have my sorrow: a most beautiful touch)

Daughter

My mother will not eat, Sir,

What fit is this!

It was Massinger's business to portray Barnavelt the Statesman in his formal public side, comparatively; he knew this, and stuck to his last. But here is the same man as father, husband, and suffering human being, and here is too, Fletcher's



sympathetic delineation of it all, a manner widely differing from Massinger in every particular.-

Referring again to his situation and its heaped-up difficulties Barnavelt again speaks of the Soldier in terms indicating that he considers him to have ill-repaid the kindness poured out upon him-

O the false soldier!

he says, and, to his daughter;

Go marry an English Captain and he'll teach thee

How to defy thy father and his fortune.

There is a sound of et tu Brute, in this and it strengthens the statement previously made that Fletcher's conception of the relation of the soldiery to Barnavelt was inconsistent with Massinger's in the scene where the latter makes Barnavelt cashier the Captain for a slight misdemeanor.-

The scene goes on, and now wife and daughter enter to reason with the master of the house, who seems, for the nonce, to be scarcely master of himself and his misfortunes.-

Wife Fye, fye, Sir:

Why do you suffer the sad dead retirements

To choake your spirits? You have studied long  
enough



To serve the uses of those men that scorn ye:

'Tis time you take your ease now.

Barnavelt I shall shortly

And everlasting ease, I hope.

Wife Why weep ye

My dear Sir? speak,

Barnavelt Never till now unhappy!

Thy fruit there and my fall ripen together

And fortune gives me heirs of my disgraces.

Wife Take nobler thoughts,

Barnavelt What will become of thee, Wife,

When I am gone? when they have gorged their  
envies

With what I have, what honest hand in pity  
out

Will pour <sup>^</sup>to thy wants? What noble eye

Will look upon my children struck with misery

And say "you had a father that I honored;

For his sake be my Brothers and my Sisters."

Notice here the solemn beauty of his allusion to his coming death, which he, unlike the women, anticipates:

An everlasting peace:

and also the fine Fletcher-like indirectness and tenderness of





of the lines beginning, "Never till now unhappy"; where Barnavelt's whole grief heads up in his thought that he must die to his family and this swallows the thought of the dying to the world and fame. The indirectness mentioned comes out in the words: Thy fruit there (i. e. the daughter,) and my fall ripen together-

But here comes the change in his mood from the private and tender to the old imperiousness: his son enters and declares that Ledenberg is dead by his own hand-

Son            Pluck up your heart, Sir, fairly brave  
                  And wither not away thus poorly from us:  
                  Be now secure; the mist ye feared is vanished,-  
                  Ledenberg is dead.

Barnavelt    Dead?

Massinger at this point instead of putting the single incredulous word into the mouth of the sneaker, would have indulged in a rhetorical burst of ten or a dozen lines. He is rarely, if ever, natural in such scenes.-

Son            Killed himself; his own hand  
                  Most bravely was his justice; n'er left behind him  
                  One piece of naver to dishonour ye.

Barnavelt    And is he dead? So timely, too? So truly?



Speak't again, will,

Son He's dead, Sir, if I live here

Barnavelt And his own hand?

Son His hand and will performed it.

Barnavelt Give me some wine. I find now, notwithstanding

The opposition of those minds that hate me,

A wise man spins his own fate and secures it.

Nor can I, that have power to persuade <sup>men</sup> die,

Want living friends to justify my credit.

Go in and get me meat now: invite my friends,

I am determined to be high and merry-

With the good news, Barnavelt puts on his armor and at the same time puts off the more lovable part of his nature, as it would seem: Thus he rejoices in the death of Ledenberg because the event furthers his ends, and drops no tear or regret for one who at least was his faithful friend and adherent. His only word that approaches condemnation is that which replies to his son when the latter says:

I wonder how he got that spirit, Sir, to die so?

Barnavelt He was a weak man, indeed but he has redeemed it.

This jars on us a little, as does also the impulse which leads him to bid prepare for a feast. It had been better to find a



grave satisfaction tempered to sadness by the loss of his secretary.- Massinger would have been more circumspect here- Barnavelt's mourning however, is short-lived. Another servant enters to say that the soldiers have broken into the house and demand the Master's person. At once Barnavelt calmly accepts the situation and bids his wife yield to the circumstances:

Barnavelt      Open the door: farewell, wife:  
                  Go to the French Ambassador presently;  
                  There's all our hope. To him make known my misery  
                  Woo him with tears, with prayers: this kiss:  
                  be happy.

And to the Captain and his attendants as they are about to lead him away, he gives way to a final blast of stormy indignation and wrath in his old-time fashion.

Barnavelt      Away!  
                  You instrument of blood, why do you seek us?  
                  I have known the day you have waited like a suppliant  
                  And those knees bended as I pass. Is there no  
                  reverence



Belonging to me left now, that like a Buffian  
 Rudely ye forced my lodging?

The Captain responds very truly that he is only acting on commission, and begs Barnavelt not to be vexed at the proceeding.  
 Barnavelt replies with vehemence:

Barnavelt      I will be vexed,  
                   And such an anger I will fling amongst 'em  
                   Shall shake the servile souls of these poor  
                   wretches  
                   That stick his slight deservings above mine.  
                   I charge ye draw your guard off and disperse 'em:  
                   I have a power as full as theirs.

Captain        You'll find not:  
                   And I must have ye with me.

Barnavelt      And am I subject,  
                   That have stood the brunt of all their business,  
                   And when they slept- watch to secure their  
                   slumbers-  
                   Subject to slights, to scorns, to taints, to  
                   tortures?  
                   To feed one private malice am I betrayed?  
                   Mine age, mine honor and my honest dealings  
                   Sold to the hangman's sword?





Captain I cannot stay

Barnavelt Take me

And glory in my blood, you most ungrateful;  
 Feed your long bloody hopes and bath your angers  
 In Barnavelt's deservings; share my service;  
 Let it be death to pity me; to speak well of me,  
 The ruin of whole families, when I am gone  
 And angry war again shall seize your Country,  
 Too late remember then, and curse your folies.  
 I am ready. Farewell, Son: remember me  
 But not my fortune: let them cry that shall want  
 them.

Remembering the attitude of friendship towards the soldiers on the part of Barnavelt as conceived by Fletcher is it straining a point to see a hint of the same thing in a remark of this Captain, implying a doubt in his mind whether those about to execute Barnavelt have real right and authority to do so?

Captain You must pardon me,

I have commission, Sir, for what I offer,  
 And from those men that are your Masters, too:  
At least you'll find them so.



This last line seeme to me; they will act as your Masters, whether they be so or not.-

This whole scene then, is consistent with what we conceive to be Fletcher's treatment, showing his tendency to portray Barnavelt's tendernes and human weakness and withal his somewhat impatient indignation and hot scorn under the attacks and insults or even the comparatively mild approaches of his enemies.-



Act IV. 5. Massinger.

This scene, where Barnavelt appears before his judges, hears the charges against him and repudiating them as false, tells them to condemn him at once, for he will say nothing in reply, as he would not be believed, if he spoke. It is of high merit and incomparably the best work taken as a whole, that Massinger has done in the play. Barnavelt's carriage and words are dignified and powerful even to a grave eloquence and while there is lacking the cumulative passion and rhetoric of Fletcher, for a Court scene the atmosphere is perfect. We have already spoken of Massinger's fondness for action of this kind, for a judicial and formal setting for his creation, here he had his chance and here he has given a fine example of his power. In the opening speech of Barnavelt, Massinger approaches nearer to the simple and heartfelt than in any other place in the play. The Lords being assembled, the accused enters and speaks as follows:

Barnavelt: My duty to your Highness and these Princes  
 And an increase of wisdom to your Lordships,  
 For which the world admires you, I wish to you,  
 Alas, what trouble does a weak old man  
 (That is, being out of all employment, useless)



The bag of his deserts, too, cast behind you,  
 Impose upon this Senate? My poor life,  
 (Which others' envy, makes your Instruments  
 To fight against) will hardly be a conquest  
 Worthy such great performers.

Hazlett's comment that the characters of Massinger are lusus naturae seems entirely at variance with such a passage as this. Indeed, so different is it from the dramatist's customary touch and movement that it is hard to suppress the suspicion that Fletcher inserted this in a scene which as a whole must be given to Massinger. The preponderance of the double endings also favors this assumption.

There is much quiet strength and dignity in the request that the complaints, as prepared, be read to him.

Barnavelt: I must believe and suffer whatsoever

Your Lordships charge me with: Yet would gladly hear  
 What my faults are.

The charges are read, but before they are finished Barnavelt interrupts and seems to take it for granted that things are going against him, and that therefore it is unnecessary to prolong the struggle, and yet he cannot refrain from





once again viewing over his past services and community in the lack of probability that a man of such a kind, should be guilty of what is claimed.

Barnavelt: And that, with others, this was Barnavelt's purpose'  
Tis so your Lordships take it.

Breden: With good reason.

Vandort: Too many and strong proofs inviting us  
To credit it.

Barnavelt: 1 If you will have them such  
2 All truth I can bring to divert your Lordships  
3 From your determinate opinion that way  
4 Will not remove them, yet tis strange that man  
5 Should labor to divide those General States,  
6 That had no weak hand in uniting them;  
7 That Barnavelt (a name you have remembered  
8 When you have thought by whom you were made happy)  
9 That Barnavelt (aloud I dare repeat it)  
10 Who, when there was combustion in the State,  
11 Your Excellence, Grave William and Count Henne,  
12 Taking instructions for your commands



13 From one that ruled them all; the Provinces  
 14 Refusing to bring in their contributions  
 15 And arguing whether the West Frieslander  
 16 And Hollander had power to raise such tribute,  
 17 When Graves and Vendloe were held by the Spaniard  
 18 And Nunweghen with violence assaulted,  
 19 Confusion with one greedy gripe being ready  
 20 To seize on all; then when the sluice was lost  
 21 And all in waiting at Middleborough,  
 22 Who then rose up or durst step in before me  
 23 To do these countries service.

This long speech is quoted because it will illustrate Massinger's tendency to loose sentence construction. It will be noted that the dependent relative character of the speech which is set up on line 10, is lost sight of and the conditional construction set up by the word when on lines 10, 17 and 24 is taken up and finished in line 22. Bullen notices this tendency in Massinger when he says: "There is often a want of coherence in his sentences, which amble down the page in a series of loosely linked clauses. We are reminded of the former's opening sentence of Mandeville's Voyage and Travels, the syntac-



tical end of which no man knows to this day.

His clauses as here set forth are partially allowed by Vandort, but the Prince adds that to concede all, would be to make his co-equals, the Lords, his wards and scholars. Then follows another long monologue by the accused man which in stately dignity and moderated but full-toned diction . It being called the finest single speech that Massinger has given us. A part of it follows:

If ever

'Twere lawful th' unthankful men 't upraid  
 Unequal benefits, let it not in me  
 Be now held glorious (or boastful) 'f I speak my best.

Notice now the calm majesty of the next lines:

I have five times in regal embassies  
 Been sent the principle agent for these countries,  
 And for your good have spoken face to face  
 With mighty kings, twice with that virgin Queen  
 Our patroness of happy memory,  
 Elizabeth of England, twice in France  
 With that invincible king that worthily  
 (Though dead) is styled the Great Henry the fourth,  
 Once with the king of Britain that now is,



Yet let my greatest enemy name the least  
 Of these so high employments in which I  
 Treated without advantage, and returned not  
 With profit as with honor, to my country,  
 And let me fall beneath the worst aspersion  
 His malice can throw on me. - - -

And after all  
 These meritorious and prosperous travels  
 To unite these States, can Barneveldt be suspected  
 To be the author to undo that knot  
 Which with such toil he fastened.

Barnavelt is checked in this fine march of recollection by the Prince, who tells him that he makes much of what he has done, but leaves unsaid what is to his discredit, and he then goes on to enumerate some of these discreditable things, winding up by the peremptory order that Modesbargen, who, unknown to Barnavelt is held in custody, to be brought before the Court, Barnavelt then makes a remark which is properly an aside and so marked by Bullen, although not indicated in the M. S. which shows that Massinger conceived of Barnavelt as being consciously guilty in the plots then making against the Government, an attitude which we have seen him take before.





Orange: Call in Modesbargen.

Barnavelt: (aside) He a prisoner, too!

Then I am lost.

He is evidently afraid of this fellow statesman's confession, just as he feared Ledenberg's and so urged him to suicide.

Orange: Ha! does that startle you?

Barnavelt: (aside) I must collect myself.

A moment later Barnavelt braves it out in his address to Modesbargen.

Barnavelt: You that feel

The horror of foul guilt in your false bosom

Confess yourself so: my strong innocence

To the death stands constant.

But, from the foregoing, it is evident that this is a show of innocency, not the real thing, as Massinger treats it. The Prince and the rest of the Lords, now go on to shower further accusations upon him, until Barnavelt interrupts with another fine disclaimer and so ends the scene.



Barnavelt: Give me leave

Only to smile, then say all these are false.

And a little further on:

Now when you please condemn me;  
 I will not use one syllable for your mercy  
 To have mine age renewed once again  
 To see a second triumph of my glories,  
 You rise and I grow tedious: let me take  
 My farewell of you yet, and at the place  
 Where I have oft been heard, and as my life  
 Was ever fertile of good councils for you,  
 It shall not be in the last moment barren.

The line, "You rise and I grow tedious," again has a  
 Fletcher  
 suspicious sound of <sub>1</sub> in it, especially when it is followed  
 by the words "and let me take my farewell of you yet" the read-  
 ing of the italicised word by Fletcher having been fully brought  
 out in the subsequent treatment of the play. But the gen-  
 eral swing of the speech is plainly Massinger's. This scene  
 then as a whole, gives us Barnavelt on his public formal side;  
 making an admirable defence of himself, albeit conscious of his  
 guilt: it is Massinger's treatment and not Fletcher's, lacking



the more uncontrolled and volcanic eloquence of the latter, and lacking likewise the tender human touches with which Fletcher lights up and warms us to the character of the Advocate. For instance in the closing lines of Barnavelts last speech, Fletcher would certainly have been far more dramatic and climacteric than is Massinger who ends in this way:

Now lead me where you will: a speedy sentence,  
I am ready for it and 'tis all I ask you.

This reads a little tame after what has gone before. It was marked, in treating this scene under the Caution Style, that the expression "Oh you forgetful!" page 238, had a sound of Fletcher in it: this, taken with the expressions just mentioned, leaves me to put my finger on this scene as one of those in which Fletcher has added touches of his own.



Act V. 1. Massinger.

Another Court Scene, and again Massinger's hand at work. But Barnavelt's part in it is only slight, consisting of the few lines he speaks on being brought into the Court room to receive his sentence; and in what little he says, we hear rather Fletcher than Massinger.

Vandort:     Sit down sir,  
                 And take your last place with us.

Barnavelt:   'T's your form  
                 And I infringe no order.

Breden:     Mr. Barnavelt,  
                 Will ye confess yet freely your bad practices  
                 And lay those instruments open to the world,  
                 Those bloody and bold instruments you wrought by?

Barnavelt:   I have spoke all   I can and sealed that all  
                 With all I have to care for now, my conscience.

Vandort:     What this world gives you,  
                 To mourn thus we take away, Receive it

Barnavelt:   My sentence?





Vandort: Yes: consider for your soul now,  
And so farewell.

Barnavel: I humbly thank your Honors;  
I shall not play my last Act worst.

Now an appeal may be made to Boyle and Bullen, to  
Fleay and Swinburne and to any and all other critics who have  
given this play study, and have paid attention to Fletcher's  
style in general, if the ear-marks of the same are not vis-  
ible in these few lines, there is the repetend.

And lay those instruments open to the world  
Those bloody and bold instruments you wrought by  
I have spoke all I can and sealed that all  
With all I have to care for now, my conscience.

There is the use of the word farewell in a parting scene;

Vandort: And so farewell

<sup>decided</sup>  
And again there is a preponderance of the feminine ending, even  
to the use of the logical accent to finish a thing, frequent  
in Fletcher, but quite unknown in Massinger, so far as I have  
seen. My sentence? Yes: consider for your soul now.



Here soul now forms a trochaic accentual foot and if this be not Fletcher's line, then all metrical tests must be set at naught. In short, I conclude that this lay judicial scene was Massinger's, but that here at the last, just as it was passing over into the next scene, which is Fletcher's as well as the last scene, the latter added or changed these lines to read as we have them. This, then, is an example of the theory that the two men are often to be seen within a given scene, in those days of loose collaboration and careless claiming of sole authorship.

It may be added, that Barnevelt's last word,

I shall not play my last act worst,

is much the same with what Fletcher makes Barnavelte say in the next scene, in retort to the Lord who bids him not play with heaven in his last utterance:

Barnavelte: My game's as sure as your's is

And with more care and innocence I play it.







For you, and for the State, thus ye promote me!

I thank ye, Countrymen, most nobly thank ye.

Fletcher's sympathy with all classes, his spirit of fellowship with men of high and low degree, is suggested by his question to the executioner:

Of what place are ye, friend?

It would be quite unlike Massinger to say this; he would be more likely to address the stalwart sword-swinging as "fellow" and to preserve his sense of rank even at this last extremity. Barnavolt goes on to ask this "friend" why he, being from Utrich, is appointed to the stern office of giving him his death stroke; and when the executioner replies that, if truth must be told, he won the place at dice, the Advocate breaks out in the customary manner at this insult put upon him even at his death-hour:

Am I become a general game? a rest

For every slave to pull at, thank ye still;

You are grown noblest in your favors, gentlemen.

The Prince, in order to shake the criminal's nerve, and show him that Ledenberg shall not escape the fate of a State-offender by taking his own life, has had his coffin with the body





exposed hung up in view of Barnavelt. He sees it, and for the moment is shaken at the horror of the sight, and doubtless by the memories that are called up. But in another moment he is himself again and thus hurls defiance at his torturers:

Are these the holy prayers ye prepare for me,  
 The comforts to a parting soul? and still I thank <sup>ye,</sup>  
 Most heartily and lovingly I thank <sup>ye,</sup>  
 Will not a single death give satisfaction,  
 O you most greedy men and most ungrateful,  
 The quiet sleep of him you gape to swallow,  
 But you must turn up death in all his terrors,  
 And add to souls departing, frights and fevers?  
 Hang up a hundred coffins! I dare view 'em,  
 And on their heads subscribe a hundred treasures,  
 It shakes not me, thus dare I smile upon 'em,  
 And strongly thus outlook your fellest justice:

It must be confessed that this sounds a little as though the man were talking loud to still frightened beatings of his heart; as if his state of mind were akin to the boy's who whistles vociferously when he goes by the grave-yard. But if <sup>fine</sup> this be so, the next long monologue is in the right tone and has no hint of bragadocio.



Lord: Will ye bethink ye, sir, of what ye come for?

Barnavelt: I come to die, bethink you of your justice  
 And with what sword ye strike, the edge of malice,  
 Bethink ye of the travels I had for ye,  
 The throes and groans to bring fair peace<sup>amongst ye;</sup>  
 Bethink ye of the dangers I have plunged through,  
 And almost-gripes of death to make you glorious,  
 Think when the country, like a wilderness,  
 Brought nothing forth but desolation,  
 Fire, sword and famine; when the earth sweat under<sup>ye</sup>  
 Cold dews of blood, and Spanish flames being o'er ye,  
 And every man stood marked the child of murder,  
 And women wanted wombs to feed these cruelties;  
 Think then who stept into you, gently took ye  
 And bound your bleeding wounds up; from your faces  
 Wiped off the sweats of sorrow, fed and nursed ye;  
 Who brought the plough again to crown your plenty,  
 Your goodly meadows who protected, countrymen,  
 True the armed soldiers' furious marches; who  
 Unbarred the heavens that the floating merchant  
 Might clap his linnen wings up to the winds,  
 And back the raging waves to bring you profit,



Think through who's care you are a nation  
 And have a name yet left, a fruitful nation,  
 (Would I could say a thankful) bethink ye of these <sup>things,</sup>  
 And then turn back and blush, blush for my ruin.

Again, one of the Lords asks:

Will ye confess your faults?

And Barnavelt gives another example of that blending of satire and pathos before mentioned as being a characteristic of Fletcher's.

Barnavelt: I came not hither  
 To make myself guilty, yet one fault I must utter  
 And 'tis a great one.

Lord: The greater mercy.

Barnavelt: I die for saving this ungrateful country.

Then follows another charming touch, in which Fletcher gives us Barnavelt the man, as opposed to Barnavelt the politician and public leader. He says to the executioner:

Take off my doublet, and I prithee, fellow,  
 Strike without fear.



Executioner: I warrant ye, I'll hit ye,

I pray forgive me, sir.

Barnavelt: Most heartily,

And here is my hand; I love thee too, thy physic

Will quickly purge me from the world's abuses;

When I speak loudest, strike.

Bidding adieu to the Lords, the doomed man makes another, and the last of those domestic allusions which we have seen Fletcher to be full of.

Barnavelt: I have a wife, my Lords, and wretched children;

Unless it please his grace to look upon'em,

And your good honors, with your eyes of favor

'Twill be a little happiness in my death

That they partake not with their father's ruin.

Those petitioned to are not entirely without bowels of mercy, and a Lord promises that they shall be cared for. Barnavelt then pronounces the final, beautiful good-bye, which contains the superb line.

Your memories wound deeper than your malice.

And with a touch of realism from one of the lords, who remarks to the executioner that he has in his honest zeal, "struck off his fingers, too," and with the ringing couplet spoken by an-





other of the lords;

Farewell, Great heart; full low thy strength lies.

He that would nurse ambition, this way dies,  
the play closes, and its subject is before that last of most impartial of all tribunals. Speaking largely it cannot be affirmed, in my opinion, that the character of Barnavelt as unfolded by the two dramatists in turn, exhibit decided and inorganic differences and contradictions. Small slips there are, as have been indicated, but on the whole the springs of action and the essential characteristics of the chief figure in the play are the same in the work of both. None the less can it be said and pointed out, as has been endeavored, that while Massinger devotes himself more to one side as it were, of the character of Barnavelt, namely, his formal, public side and life, Fletcher lets us into the more secret, the private issues and existence of the Statesman, thus putting us heart to heart with him, giving realism and color to his words and deeds, in short, humanizing the leader and office lover to something more lovable and fine. This difference of treatment has been my effort to bring out in the analysis.

Again Fletcher along with his tendency to make a great figure like this, warm and living by the introduction of the tender and the private, does also love to make such a figure



dramatic, towering, splendid, even in ruin. There is always about them an atmosphere of circumstance and pomp; we may hear forever the fanfaronade of attendant trumpets. This gleams out even where in another place Buckingham tells Sir Niele Vaux to give him no costs suits fitting the greatness of his person, he being now only poor Edward Bohun: when Wolsey reflects on himself as weary and old with service, or when Barnavelt in his last words is, to himself, but a naked poor man kneeling to heaven, nevertheless, with them all this very humility seems to but set off the greatness of their position and personality.

As to there being a wide divergence between Massinger and Fletcher in their conception of Barnavelt and the manner of his death, as Boyle seems to claim, it has been seen that I cannot agree with it.

It remains now to take a view of such other of the characters or scenes of the play as will reveal differences of treatment, if any such there be.

Naturally, the personage most attracting our attention, after Barnavelt, is the Prince of Orange. Careful study of his character, however, will not disclose any inconsistency in the treatment by the two men. The Prince is represented from the start as wily, politic, adopting a seeming moderation in



order to the more inflame his followers in hatred of Barnavelt and desire to stint his power. This slowness to come boldly out against his rival which at first is strongly marked, gradually changes as Barnavelt's position becomes less dangerous and strong, and the Prince's proportionately surer, to a decided stand in the last scene in which Orange appears (Act V 1) where he openly advocates the sentence and execution of the Advocate. The character, as developed, is organic and natural. Throughout all the scenes the love and loyalty of the common soldiers and their officers for the Prince is apparent; this seems to have been the conception of both playwrights.

In the group of statesmen who circle Orange & Barnavelt as satellites and followers, two, Ledenberg and Modesbargen, most attract our attention. Of this pair, strongly contrasted in character and treatment, the later is a picture of the overblunt, honest courtier, who gives Barnavelt wise, but unwelcome advice and finally, as the plots of the great leader grow more complicated and questionable, flies to Germany, there to have done with all intrigue and to lead a quiet country life. From there however, he is captured by the emissaries of the Prince and brought to Justice. We are in sympathy with Modesbargen throughout and his character in its



development is consistent and calls for no comment. But with Ledenberg this is not so. A difference of treatment may be pointed out in his case. For a number of scenes he is a wary, politic and double-faced adherent of the Advocate. At first, (Act I) we see him slavishly upholding whatever Barnavelt decides upon doing; and by the testimony of the Cashiered Captain we learn in what distrust and contempt he is held by the Sol-  
his  
diery. A fellow Captain, ignorant of real character is lead by the specious promises made by Ledenberg to say to his brother in distress:

Yet there's hope, for you have one friend left.

2nd. Captain: You are deceived, Sir,

And do not know his nature that gave promise  
Of his assistance.

1 Captain. Who is't?

2nd. Captain: Ledenbergen.

One of the Lords, the States, and of great power, too:  
I would he were as honest, this is he  
That never did man good, and yet no suitor  
Ever departed discontented from him,  
He'll promise anything; I have seen him talk





At the church door with his hat off to a beggar  
 Almost an hour together, yet when he left him  
 He gave him not a    doit, he does profess  
 To all an outward pity, but within  
 The devil's more tender; the great plague upon him!

The unlovely light in which the secretary is here put before us, is carried on up to the third act. In one scene (Act I, 3) we hear him flatter and subserve the Prince; in another (II,1) he soft soaps the Soldiers who oppose Barnavel: again (II,2) he uses the same arts on the women who are hanging about the town for gossip & news and again (II,5) he shows a certain Uriah Heep obsequiousness in begging the Prince to give him a hearing, on being taken prisoner. Up to this point, we repeat, there is absolutely nothing to put us in sympathy with him, or to relieve the disagreeable, oily and time serving nature of his carriage and acts. But with the third act begins a change. As a prisoner (III 2) he shows a gleam of tenderness for his boy who attends him, which at once enlists our sympathies.

Ledenberg: Alas, poor innocent

It is for thee I suffer, for myself

I have set up my rest.



A little later, (III 4) and in his interview with Barnavelt in prison, where the latter urges him to die bravely by making a Roman end of his mistaken life and in his attitude of final decision and despisement of the world, he rises to a position where the reader feels that there is a breath of the heroic blown upon him:

Ledenberg: Give me your hand, sir:

You have put me in a path I will tread strongly,  
 Redeem what I have lost, and that so nobly  
 The world shall yet confess at least I love ye,  
 How much I smile at now these people's malice:  
 Despise their subtle ends, laugh at their justice:  
 And what a mighty Prince a constant man is:  
 How he can set his mind aloft, and look at  
 The bussings and the business of the spiteful,  
 And curse when ere he pleases all their close <sup>weavings</sup>  
 Farewell, my last farewell.

But finally (III 6) our feeling which has thus been started away from the coolness begotten towards Ledenberg in the first scenes, is warmed into decided sympathy and admiration by the beautiful prison scene where the criminal and whilom wily politician blossoms into tenderness and affection, into



sadness at leaving what he loves, mingled with resolution and imaginative querying of what comes after death. The scene is worth transcribing in part:

Boy:            Shall I help you to bed, Sir?

Ledenberg:   No, my boy, not yet.

Boy:            'Tis late and I grow sleepy.

Ledenberg:   Go to bed, then  
                 For I must write, my child.

Boy:            I had rather watch, Sir  
                 If you sit up, for I know you will wake me.

Ledenberg:   Indeed I will not: go, I have much to do,  
                 Prithe, to bed: I will not waken thee.

Boy:            Pray, Sir, leave writing 'till to-morrow.

Ledenberg:   Why, boy?

Boy:            You slept but ill last night- and talked in your  
                 sleep, too: tumbled and took no rest.

Ledenberg:   I ever do so,



Good boy, to bed: my business is of weight  
And must not be deferred; good night, sweet boy,

Boy: My father was not wont to be so kind,  
To hug me and to kiss me so.

Ledenberg: Why dost thou weep?

Boy: I cannot tell, but sure a tenderness  
Whether it be with your kind words unto me  
Or what it is, has crept about my heart, sir  
And such a sudden heaviness withal, too.

(1)

Ledenberg:(aside) Thou bringest fit mourners for my funeral

Boy: But why do you weep, father?

Ledenberg: O, my boy,  
Thy tears are dew-drops, sweet as those on roses,  
But mine the faint iron sweat of sorrow,  
Prithee, sweet child, to bed; good rest dwell with thee,  
And Heaven return a blessing: that's my good boy,  
How nature rises now and turns me woman  
When most I should be man! Sweetheart, farewell  
Farewell forever, when we get us children

(1) Bullen should have marked this as an aside, as is done in other cases.





We then do give our freedom up to fortune  
 And loose that native courage we are born to,  
 To die were nothing- simply to leave the light:  
 No more than going to our beds and sleeping,  
 But to leave all these dearnesses behind us,  
 These figures of ourselves that we call blessings,  
 'Tis that which troubles, can man beget a thing  
 That shall be dearer than himself unto him?  
 - - - - He is fast (i. e. asleep)  
 Sleep on sweet child, the whilst thy wretched father  
 Prepares him to the iron sleep of death  
  
 Or is death fabled not but terrible  
 To fright us from it? or rather is there not  
 Some hid Hesperides. Some blessed fruits  
 Moated about with death?

Stabbing himself, the boy is awakened and Ledenberg goes on:

Ledenberg: Sure the boy awakes  
 And I shall be prevented.

Roy: Now heaven bless me  
 Oh me, Oh me!



Ledenberg: He dreams and starts with frightings,  
I bleed apace but cannot fall, 't is here;  
This will make wider room, sleep, gentle child,  
And do not look upon thy bloody father,  
Nor more remember him than fits thy fortune.

A remarkable parallel to this scene, in atmosphere dramatic personae and treatment may be found in Fletcher's play *Bouduca V 1.* where the soldier Caratack and his nephew the boy Hengo are the actors and the effect of a sweet child-nature in a rough man of affairs is pathetically presented.

Now these last scenes in which this softer and more sympathetic treatment of Iedenberg creeps in, are, as one might expect, from the hand of Fletcher: so one would claim that here again, as in the case of Barnavelt, we have an example of the deeper and more human treatment of the greater playwright.

It would have been equally outside <sup>of</sup> the conception and nature of Massinger to have introduced or carried out such a scene as that from which quotation has been made. Just as Fletcher had it in his heart to depict Barnavelt's private and domestic traits, so he took up the same side of Ledenberg, a far less fit character to deal with in this way, and hence while with



Barnavelts the difference of treatment in the case Massinger and Fletcher, amounts perhaps to nothing more than the showing up of the opposite but not contradictory traits of the same large nature, with Ledenberg the contrast is so marked and so easily felt that Fletcher's presentation of him must be designated as in violation to Massinger in the earlier scenes.

Our feeling <sup>opinion of</sup> towards Ledenberg is radically changed while our feeling toward and opinion of Barnavelts is simply modified.

In a passionate impetuous nature like Barnavelts, tenderness and big-heartedness were to be looked for; but in the previous delineation of Ledenberg there is nothing to establish such a probability: hence the shock, albeit a pleasing one.

Looking away from character-drawing, to scene-painting, to the presentation of life in its variety and its manifestations among high and low, we will find what there is of this in the play to be set forth by Fletcher. His was the wider range, the deep sympathy of life among the masses. He does not stand off and tell of the common people as would Massinger who is much more of a formalist, a caste writer: but he becomes one of them for the time and enters with enjoyment into their wholesome vulgarity. Massinger can be vulgar enough but not with the out-door atmosphere and sure sympathy of Fletcher.



The first scene in our play where this broad country element is rife is Act II scene 2, here we have a lively, amusing picture of the chatter among a lot of Dutch women of the City, and a solitary English gentlewoman who opposes the reverence and obedience towards husbands, which holds in her country to the and general contempt, high-handedness tendency to wear the breeches shown in the gossip of her low-country sisters. The humors of the scene is broad and atmospheric, coming not in flashes but rather as a steady quality. Let us listen to a little of the back-and-forth of the street talk.

1 D. W. Here comes the sisters: that's in an English gentle-  
woman  
Let's pray for her conversion.

2 D. W: You are welcome , lady,  
and your coming over hither is most happy;  
For here you may behold the general freedom  
We live and traffic in, the joy of women.---  
We are ourselves our own disposers, masters;  
And those that you call husbands are our servants.

3 D. W: Your own country breeds ye handsome, maintains ye  
brave  
But with a stubborn hand the husbands awe ye,  
point ye  
You speak but what they please, look where they





And tho' we have some liberty it is limited.

4 D W: Which curse you must shake off: to live is nothing;  
To live admired and looked at -poor deservings;  
But to live so, so free you may command, Lady  
Compel and there reign sovereign.

1 D W: Do you think there is anything  
Our husbands labor for and not for our ends?  
out  
Are we shut <sup>^</sup> of counsels, privacies,  
And only limited our household business:  
No, certain, Lady: we partake with all,  
Or our good men partake no rest, why this man  
Works this or this way, with or against the State,  
We know and give allowances.

2 D W: Why such a gentleman,  
quarter;  
Thus handsome and thus young, commands such a  
Where these fair ladies lie; why the grave's angry  
now  
And Monsieur Barnavelt <sup>^</sup> discontent,  
Do you think it's fit we should be ignorant?

3 D. W. Or why there's sprung up now a need devotion?  
Good gentlewoman, no. Do you see this fellow?  
He is a scholar and a parlous scholar,



matter,  
 Or whether he be a scholar or no, 'tis not a doit's  
 He's a fine talker and a zealous talker;  
 list,  
 We can make him think what we list, say what we  
 Print what we list and whom we list abuse in it,

And so they run on, very Amazonians in their sentiments. And  
 they would entice the English woman who, presumably, has been  
 harkening to all this in open-mouthed wonder.

3 D. W:        Come, You must be as we are, and the rest  
                   Of your country women:  
                   You do not know the sweet on't.

Eng. Gentle-Woman:    Indeed, nor will not:

                  Our country brings us up to fair obedience,  
                   To know our husbands for our governors,  
                   So to obey and serve 'em: two heads make masters.

in  
 And a moment a more lurid light is thrown over the  
 scene by the entrance of Vandermiken with the announcement  
 that the Prince is at the gates to force admission. In II 6  
 there is a touch of the same, a bit of rough and ready human  
 nature.. The Dutch women, the Prince having got possession of  
 the town, are running hither and thither crying out for the



safety of their husbands. This gives the English woman an excellent chance to talk back at her whilom taunters.

Eng. Gentle Woman: Now where's your valours,

You that would eat the Prince?

Dutch Woman: Sweet English gentle-woman!

Eng. Gentle Woman: Fy, do not run! for shame! body a me,  
Gregory;  
How their fear outstinks their garlic! like Sir

(Enters Holderus)

Art thou afraid, too? Out with thy two-edged sword  
And lay about thee.-

The remaining scene (Act V 2 ) much has in it the popular folk-flavor is that when the three executioners sit on the scaffold and amidst much horse-play throw dice to settle who shall take off the head of Sir John; this, like the scene above described is, as we might expect, by Fletcher, and is quite in his manner being realistic, strong, and full of life. It has too much rollicking, although in this case grim humour, which the dramatist in question possessed in such a kind and measure as to force us to think of Shakespeare himself.

Enters Harlem, Leyden and Utrecht, executioners



Harlem: Now hard and sharp, for a wager, who shall do it?  
 Here's a sword would do a man's <sup>good</sup> head to be cut off with it!

Cures all rheums, all catarrhs, megrims, vertigos;  
 Presto, he gone!

Leyden: You must not carry it, Harlem: you are a  
 Pretty fellow and lap the line of life well, but  
 Weak to Balthazar, give room for Leyden: here's an  
 Old cutter, here's one has polled more pates  
 And neater than a decker of your barbers: they  
 (1)  
 Ne'er need washing after. Does not they reek  
 Itch now to be scratched a little with this?

Harlem: No, in truth does it not: but if you'll try first,  
 If I do not whip your dodipoll as clearly off and  
 Set it on again as handsomely as it stands now, that  
 You may blow your nose and pledge me two cows after

Utrecht: You two imagine now  
 You are excellent workmen and that you can do wonders;  
 And Utrecht but an ass; Lets feel your rasors  
 Handsaws, mere handsaws, do you put your knees  
 to 'em too,

(1) The quantity often of my commodity. Nares' Glossary.





And take men's necks for timber, you cut a feather?  
 Cut butter when your tools are hot! Look here, <sup>pils,</sup> pu-  
 Here's the sword that cut off Pompey's head.

This will give a sample of their rough vigorous buffoonery. There is no sense of the awfulness of the business engaged in, but rather a hearty unconscious relish of the whole matter. Utrecht wins the throw and finishes the scene with the words:

Come, let's sing our old song,  
 And then come view me how I do my business,  
 Boy, come, sing you for me.

The scene is to be set beside such a one as the Indiction to "The Knight of the Burning Pestle". Fletcher reminds us of Dekkar in this power of his to enter into the life of the lower classes, without any of the false sentimentality which is often the bane of such portraiture. Dekkar is mentioned because he possessed this power in a remarked degree. A decided parallel to it may also be found in Philaster V 4.

If, finally, the construction of the play be looked to, it is found to be thoroughly excellent, indeed it has been said (1) that hardly outside of Shakespeare can be found a more (1) Boyle, Eng. Studien X.



successful playwright than Massinger, in the sense that he was an adept in constructing a clear, logically developed drama, with, with a consistent, well defined plot and a coherent development of the same. One of the greatest faults of the Elizabethan poet, Elizabethan dramatists was that they allowed their fullness of life and of power to lead them into confusion of plot, incident, organization. Plays abound which possess subplots and parallel plots to a degree that is maddening to him and state who would see just what is the tread and aim of the writer.

Shakespeare is not free from this, and when we get to such men as Dekkar and Marston this muddling of things is pronounced and in irritating. For instance a play, Fortunatus, into which Dekkar has breathed a delightful spirit of romantic poetry and which contains some of the finest lyric and imaginative touches in the whole range of Elizabethan literature, we have a jumble of masque, allegory and romances which it is hopeless to reduce to a comedy or tragic comedy, to an organic play in the Greek sense. Massinger is noticeably and commendably free from this vice of the time. His very lack of genius kept him guarded from the overflow and discursiveness of those who through this very quality, found it hard to stay within bounds and make direct for the goal. John Van Olden Barnavelt is



an admirable production when viewed in this light. It has one interest- the struggle and fall of the Dutch Advocate: and it works this out with no interruption by secondary interests, and with no inconsistency of treatment from beginning to end. It would seem but fair to give the credit of this Massinger. Fletcher according to the best and latest criticism, in his collaboration with Beaumont looked to the latter for the construction and plot of their dramas; he has been seen playing the same role <sup>in</sup> taking up Henry VIII after Shakespeare has outlined and it the piece, <sup>and</sup> started <sup>it</sup> for a tragedy, dealing with the rise and fall of such men as Crammer and Wolsey, and the separation of the English from the Romish church, and we see him in Barnavelt going on with the action as started and defined by Massinger in the first two scenes of the first act. Again it was stated in the beginning of this study that Barnavelt was a play strictly contemporaneous in the events treated. This is worthy of consideration when one reflects on the probable ability of Massinger to make a drama from such material, and contrast Fletcher with him in this respect. Massinger's tendency to apply situations set in other times and places to current and local politics, under a thin veil of other-time incidents and personages, would lead us to look for in him a power to cope with a contemporary play: while in the case of Fletcher, remembering



his deficiency in constructive power, and the fact that critics agree in seeing another hand furnishing the motif in the plays in which he is a collaborateur, this might be expected to hold in the play under consideration. So that here there is additional presumption for the belief that Massinger is the shaper of the plot of Barnavelt. The absence of a sub-plot, a distinct Fletcherian characteristic, strengthens the presumption. It is hardly too much to say that we do not possess in our dramatic literature of this great period a single production which is more lucid, more direct and more organic in its development than this so lately unearthed treasure of Massinger and Fletcher: we watch Barnavelt's enmity with Orange, his plottings, his rages and his gradual losing of ground: we watch at the same time, the Prince, also inimical and his steady slow rise into power and favor. We note the same narrowing down of the advocate's horizon, as his plots are counter-checked, his friends and following imprisoned or made cold, and the past reputation set at naught against his present dereliction. And finally we are called to look at his inevitable fall and the consequent and inevitable triumph of Orange, his too-powerful road- In fact, so exceptionally direct is the advancement of the ground-plan that there is only one or possi-





bly two scenes in the whole play, (V 2) which can be said to bear no relation to the plot as such; and thus the dice throwing of the executioners is thrown in for the excellent and sufficient reason that it furnishes light as a background to the shadows that fall around the closing <sup>scene</sup> when Barnavelt meets his doom. The remaining scene ( II 2) while its first part is comedy aside from the progression of the plot, is again a bit of sunny light thrown in as contrast to the soon following and and stirring motif introduced by the entrance in succession of several of the actors, who announce the coming of the hostile Prince and disperse the idle gathering of the women in a trice. As a play then- meaning by such designation a well-wrought and well carried out piece <sup>in action.</sup> of human life, Barnavelt must take a very high rank among works of its kind and intention

I have now surveyed from several points of view this noble monument of the dramatic genius of the early 17th century- a production which Mr. Boyle has well designated as the most valuable Christmas present English scholars have for a half a century received. The fact that such a play should lie in M. S. in a British Museum until the present day, is significant; it indicates the large amount of work still to do, not only in classifying, but in actually discovering the buried riches of



of the most fruitful period of our literature. Had the play been a fairly good one, its obscurity up to the present time would have been a reproach. Imagine for example, the same occurring in German literary fields; but when it proves to be one of the finest of its day, the reproach becomes heavy and points to a culpable laxity either in the number of those interested as critics, or, what is more likely, in the support without which they are powerless, in many cases, to do what their taste and instinct would dictate, could a sufficient encouragement be anticipated. The collection from which this play is drawn, is limited to an edition of 150 copies; and even at that ridiculously small figure, we find a friendly critic lamenting the want of subscribers to take up the edition. It is pleasant, as against this lack of interest in English literary remains to chronicle the efforts of such a critic and scholar as Mr. Bullen, who, both as the editor of these unknown English plays and of the individual works of such dramatists as Marlowe, Marston, and Middleton, is doing good and much-needed work for all future lovers of the drama. I have endeavored in my study of this <sup>real</sup> literary field by subjecting the material to different methods of investigation, to substantiate the presumption of Boyle and Bullen as to the authorship of the play: and have also it is hoped, discussed the drama in such wise as to induce



all interested in our literature at its best period and most vigorous form, to a more intimate acquaintance with, and appreciation of, one of the most notable resultants of the most notable time in our long-stretching, diverse and splendid literary history. At the end now of the examination, it may not be inapt to say a word accentuating my position on the question of the importance of investigations bearing on the rightful authorship of literary productions. The instinct which impels the student to find out if possible what belongs to a given author and what has been wrongly attributed to him, is a valuable one, and to be respected. It is a phase of the general desire, so inherent in the human mind of discovering unity where there was apparent disparity and lack of correspondence. It also involves the no less laudable desire, to study the personel in literature: not only to enjoy literature in the abstract, but in each case to feel and know a living personality with the peculiar traits and characteristics which go to make up such personality: and thus to lend that superadded warmth and interest which the addition of the personal element must invariably bring into our appreciation of human production. The sympathetic knowledge, then, of the personel of literature makes what was before impersonal thought, to become the medium between man and man, there being nothing so facinating to the hu-



man soul as the experiences of kindred human souls, in this case conveyed through literary forms. This view dignifies all study and research which has for its aim the settling of individual claims within literary fields. This I take it, is the main, if not the only reason why we are unwilling to accept such a theory as the Shakespeare- Bacon controversy has developed. And this too, is the reason why it is worth while, when a play like Barnaveit is given to the world to subject it to analytic and thorough study, in order to ascertain whom we are to thank for its possession. If this were not attempted, we should still have a welcome addition to our English dramatic literature: but when it is done, we have, moreover and beyond this, been able to approach and learn to understand better two important and interesting individualities in the stalwart throng of Elizabethans, who shoulder their way into prominence through the rank and file of lesser men by sheer force of their power and size, or, in the use of more gentle but not the less persuasive means, creep into our hearts by the appeal of inextinguishable beauty.

In conclusion, I subjoin my table of the apportionment of the play between Massinger and Fletcher.





Massinger:	:	Fletcher:
-----	:	-----
I-1 (With Fletcher touches)	:	I-3
I-2	:	II-2
II-1	:	II-3
III-2 (with Fletcher touches)	:	II-4
III-3	:	II-5
III-5 (with possible touch Fletcher)	:	II-6
IV-4	:	II-7
IV-5 (with Fletcher touches)	:	III-1
V-1 (with Fletcher part p.)	:	III-4
301 to end of scene	:	III-6
	:	IV-1
	:	IV-2
	:	IV-3
	:	V-2
<u>Finis.</u>	:	V-3
	:	<u>Finis.</u>





































